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CONTENTS

E. GUSTAV JOHNSON	
A Swedish Emigrant Ballad.....	193
ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT	
Tegnér's Literary Activity During the Period 1840- 1846.....	202
FREDERIC T. WOOD	
The <i>Völuspá</i> and Its Name.....	209
EINAR R. RYDEN	
Some Aspects of Intensive Language Technique.....	217
AMERICAN SCANDINAVIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1947.....	229
REVIEWS.....	239

[Åke Ohmarks' *Gravskippet* (Manne Eriksson), p. 239. Hugo Ekhammar's *Det forntida Östersverige och svenska domen* (Edwin J. Vickner), p. 241. Ernst A. Kock's *Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen* (Lee M. Hollander), p. 243. Bror Lindén's *Dalska namn- och ordstudier I: I* (Gösta Franzen), p. 245. Rolv Thesen's *Ein diktar og hans strid: Arne Garborgs liv og skrifter* (Sverre Arrestad), p. 246. Anna Levertin's *Den unge Levertin. Minnen och brev* (Gösta Franzen), p. 250. Gösta Bergman's *A Short History of the Swedish Language* (Assar Janzén), p. 252. *Modern Swedish Poetry* (Edwin J. Vickner), p. 254.]

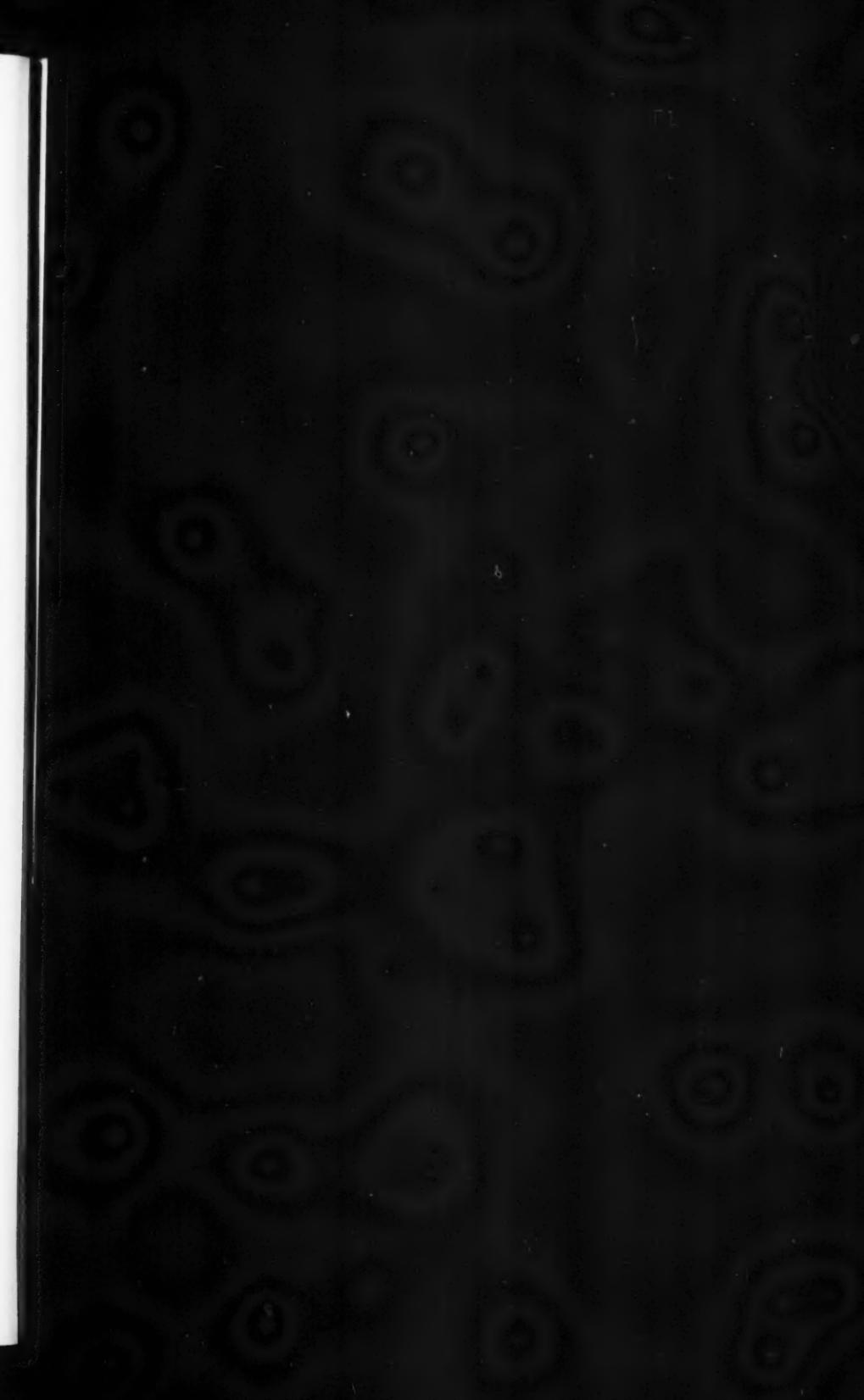
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Scandinavian Studies

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A SWEDISH EMIGRANT BALLAD

E. GUSTAV JOHNSON

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THOUSANDS of Americans of Swedish birth or descent are acquainted with a number of songs and ballads dealing with the emigration experience. Some of these have been sung or recited for more than three-quarters of a century throughout America where Swedish settlers have established themselves, and a few are known even today among the children and grandchildren of the emigrants. Since the Swedish Pioneer Centennial is being celebrated in the Midwest this year (1948), it seems appropriate to recall something of this phase of the emigrant heritage.

Most of the Swedish emigrant songs are of the plaintive, sentimental type that give expression to the longing for the old home and a nostalgic picturing of the scenes of childhood.¹ Some contain warnings to the Swedes against going to a strange land where they will encounter all kinds of danger and heartbreakng experiences, written for the purpose of discouraging emigration.

A few of the ballads are humorous and frivolous, recording ludicrous emigration experiences or giving fantastic pictures of America as "a land flowing with milk and honey." It is strange yet true that one which combines both of these elements, "Peter Johnson's Trip to America," has come to be the most popular and the best known of all Swedish emigrant ballads. My purpose here is to present this ballad together with my translation and some comments.

In popularity as well as in its humorous references to American abundance, this Swedish ballad may be compared with a Norwegian emigrant ballad called "Oleana," composed by the

¹ Most popular among these are "Norrländningens hemlängtan" ("The Northlander's Longing for Home") and "Vid Siljans strand" ("By the Shore of Lake Siljan" [in Dalarne in central Sweden]).

editor of a comic journal in Christiania and first published in 1853.² The colony which Ole Bull, the famous violinist, attempted to establish in Pennsylvania is gleefully pictured as a Utopia similar to that which hovered in Peter Johnson's anticipation of America:

Aa brunstegte Griser de løber om saa flinke
aa forespør sig høfligt, om Nogen vil ha' Skinke.³
(And brown-roasted piggies, they run about so merry,
And ask with great politeness if anyone wants ham.)

Another Swedish song similar to "Peter Johnson" is entitled "Amerikavisan: Lovsång över det fjärran Amerika" ("America Ballad: Song in Praise of Far-off America"), apparently composed some time in the 1850's.⁴ A translation of it contains the following stanza:

Ducks and chickens rain right down,
A roasted goose flies in,
And on the table lands one more
With fork and knife stuck in.⁵

A Danish variant of this ballad, presumably older than the Swedish, refers, as does "Peter Johnson," to the supposed abundance of money in America:

Det er dér fugl Fenix bor, guld och sòlv på marken gror, og i Skov og Enge voxer der kun Penge. ⁶	(There is where bird Phoenix lives, Gold and silver sprout on the ground, And in woods and meadows There grows only money.)
---	--

This fanciful thought is also contained in the popular Swedish hyperbole: "Där kan man skära guld med täljkniven" ("There [in America] one can carve out gold with one's jack-knife").

The author of "Peter Johnson's Trip to America" was a Swedish journalist, Magnus Elmlad, who spent some thirteen

² Cf. Theodore C. Blegen and Martin B. Ruud, *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1936; p. 187.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴ Knut Brodin, ed., *Emigrantvisor och andra visor (Emigrant Ballads and Other Ballads)*, Stockholm, 1938; pp. 20-21.

⁵ Translation by M. Margaret Anderson. See *Common Ground* (New York), I (1940), pp. 42-43.

⁶ From a stanza quoted in Brodin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

years in America. He is said to have been "recognized while in the United States as the foremost poet among the Swedish-Americans."⁷ While he wrote and published much, both in prose and poetry, the ironic fact is that his literary products are quite forgotten, except this piece of doggerel. Undoubtedly composed while he was "in his cups," it is the one thing that keeps his memory green.

Magnus Henrik Elmlad was born September 12, 1848,⁸ in Småland, Sweden, the son of a nationally known teacher and liberal clergyman, P. M. Elmlad, who, from 1845 to 1880, was lecturer in theology and philosophy at the Stockholm Gymnasium. He had a college-preparatory education and entered the University of Uppsala in 1868. After two years he dropped his studies, and in 1871 he arrived in Chicago, the fire-swept city that was still a charred ruin. Here he was employed first on *Hemlandet* (*The Home Land*), a Swedish weekly; then, in 1873, he became associate editor of *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren* (*The New Swedish American*), also a weekly in Chicago. During some months in 1877 he edited *Vårt Nya Hem* (*Our New Home*), published in Kearney, Nebraska. Subsequently he worked on the *Skandia* in Moline, Illinois, and in 1878 he became associate editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren*,⁹ a new Swedish weekly in Chicago, a position he retained until his return to Sweden in 1884. There he was a free-lance contributor to various journals and periodicals until his death, April 9, 1888.

Lest we do Elmlad injustice, let us record briefly his literary production. A volume of patriotic songs was published by him in Sweden in 1871; previously he had made a Swedish translation of Ibsen's *Brand* and of Kristofer Janson's novel *Han och Hon*, both published in 1870. In this country two books of his verse were published, one in 1878, reprinted in 1890, and another

⁷ Ernst W. Olson, ed., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, Chicago, 1908; p. 789.

⁸ Thus the centennial of his birth coincides with the Swedish Pioneer Centennial in the Middle West in 1948.

⁹ This paper, now called *Svenska Amerikanaren Tribunen* (*Swedish American Tribune*), is still being published, one of the oldest and largest newspapers among the Swedes in America.

in the same year, a new collection. After his return to Sweden he published his collected poems in 1887.

Besides some five hundred lyrics and bits of light verse, Elmlad wrote numerous stories and sketches for the newspapers and a play which was produced on a Swedish Chicago stage. Five of his long poems (they are referred to as "epics"¹⁰) are noteworthy. One, entitled "Azilla" (published in his Chicago collection of 1878), is a portrayal of the Indians and their desire for vengeance on the whites who had taken their land; another, entitled "Allan Roini" (in the Swedish collection, 1887), a tale of Herzegovina, had been awarded a prize by the Swedish Academy in 1886. *Kristina Nilsson* (1880), presenting the famous Swedish singer, and *Gunnar och Anna* (1882), a love story in verse which he is said to have composed in six hours, were published separately in Chicago. Another long poem, "Pehr Thomasson," on a Swedish patriotic theme, remained in manuscript. This, then, is Elmlad's remarkable literary output, which has all but gone into limbo; practically only the ballad now remains.

**Petter Jönssons Amerika Resa¹¹
(Peter Johnson's Trip to America)**

Och Petter Jönsson han såg i "Fäderneslandet,"
Att embetsmännen förstört det nordiska landet.
Då blef han ledsen och tänkte "jekeln anamma!
Jag tror jag kilar min väg och det med detsamma."

And Peter Johnson he read in "The Fatherland"¹²
That bureaucrats had ruined the northern land.

¹⁰ See article on Elmlad in Ernst Skarstedt, *Pennfaktare: Svensk-Americaniska författare och tidningsmän* (*Knights of the Quill: Swedish-American Authors and Journalists*), Stockholm, 1930; pp. 53-54.

¹¹ The version here reproduced appeared in *Dalkullans Sångbok*, 1905, published by Capt. And. L. Löfström, Chicago. The eccentric and colorful Captain, who conducted a bookstore and Swedish crafts shop in Chicago some forty years, reprinted the ballad frequently in his annual song books and almanacs. [In the present printing the spelling "Petter" has, in accordance with Swedish practice, been employed in place of Löfström's "Peter," but other peculiarities of orthography and punctuation have been retained.]

¹² A liberal, radical, semi-weekly newspaper in Stockholm, established 1853. It attacked aristocracy, bigotry, and capitalism, and advocated social and political reforms so vigorously and so offensively that the publishers were often fined and imprisoned. It degenerated into a foul scandal sheet and was finally forced to cease publication in 1926.

He got disgusted and thought: "The devil take it!
I guess I'll hurry away and that immediately."

Han tog sin plunta och stoppa' matsäck i kistan,
Och af polisen hans namn blef uppsatt på listan.
Ur venstra ögat han strök bort tåren med vantens,
Tog Gud i hågen och begaf sig ut på Atlanten.

He took his wallet and stowed some lunch in a chest
And by the police his name was enrolled on the list.
From the left eye he wiped a tear with his mitten,
With God in mind he set forth upon the Atlantic.

Han ville bort till det stora landet i vester,
Der ingen kung fins och inga kittsliga prester:
Der man får sovfa och äta fläsk och potatis,
Och se'n med flottet kan smörja stöflarne gratis.

He would away to the great land in the west,
Where there is no king and no squeamish priests:
Where one may sleep and eat pork and potatoes,
And then with the grease smear one's boots gratis.

Der ingen länsman törst stöta bonden för pannan,
Och renat bränvin kan fås för sex styver kannan:
Der mera pengar det finns än lopper¹³ i Trosa—
Dit ville Petter och dit han styrde sin kosa.

Where no sheriff dares knock a farmhand on the head,
And distilled whiskey may be had for six pence a quart.
Where more money is found than fleas in Trosa¹⁴—
Thither would Peter go, and thither he steered his course.

På skeppet stod han och liksom höll sig för magen,
Förtys själ var af mycken ångest betagen.
Der stod ej till att gå ner och lägga sig heller,
Ty stormen blåser som bara hin, när det gäller.

On the ship he stood and kind of held on to his belly,
Because his soul was with great anguish beset.
There was no use to go below and lie down either,
For the storm blew like the very devil, for that matter.

¹³ Another version has "rättor" ("rats") here.

¹⁴ A small country town south of Stockholm on the Baltic coast. Because of its insignificance as a city, its primitive life, and boorish people, it has long been the butt of jokes. Now the name *Trosa* is synonymous with a drab, dead, God-forsaken place. A popular saying is that "in *Trosa* the end of the world is located"—the world simply peters out there.

Ett gudslän (om man ej räknar oxstek och limpa)
 Han ej fått i sig, och våt han var som en simpa.
 Uti sitt förskinn han utgöt hela sin suckan
 Och snyfta bittert: "Ack, den som vore vid luckan!"

Not the least bit (if you don't count beefsteak and pumpernickel)
 Had he eaten, and wet he was as a sponge.
 In his wrapper he muffled all of his sighing
 And sobbed bitterly: "Oh, if one were only at the trap door!"

I våta byxor han stod vid masten och lipa';
 Det var så kallt så, och magen började knipa!
 Då kom en båtsman tog Petter Jönsson i nacken,
 Liksom en hundvalp, och slängde ner'en på "backen."

In wet breeches he stood by the mast whimpering;
 It was terribly cold, and his stomach began to pinch!
 Then came a sailor and took Peter Johnson by the neck
 Just like a cur and flung him down on the deck.

Der låg nu Petter och vattnet sqallpade om'en,
 Och sjelf han trodde hans sista timma var kommen.
 Men båtsman skratta' och ropade i hans öra:
 "Hvad tusan skulle du på galejan och göra?"

There now lay Peter and the water swished about him,
 He thought himself that his last hour had come.
 But the sailor laughed and shouted in his ear:
 "What the hell did you board this galley for?"¹⁵

Men stormen tystna och solen sken öfver skutan,
 Då vakna Petter och trilla ner i kajutan.
 Han tog en längsup, tog två, kröp ner under täcket,
 Och på tre veckor han se'n ej syntes på däcket.

The storm it calmed and the sun it shone o'er the schooner,
 Then Peter wakened and rolled down into the cabin.
 He took a long drink—took two—crept under the blanket,
 And for three weeks he was no more seen on deck.

Först när i New York på redden skutan låg inne,
 Kröp Petter fram, ack! men magerlagd som en pinne.
 Med sorgsna blickar han mätte förskinnets stroppar
 Och bad för Guds skull om några koleradroppar.

¹⁵ This remark contains the gist of the Swedish proverb: "Vad skulle min son på galejan att göra?" ("Why did you get on the galley, my son?"). Like "Why did you put your finger in that pie?" it means, "Serves you right; you knew what you were in for."

Not till the schooner, in New York, lay at the pier
Did Peter crawl out, but, oh, as skinny as a rail!
With doleful eyes he measured the belt of his breeches,
And asked, for God's sake, for some cholera drops.

I Castle-garden han slog sig ner vid sin kista,
Och åt och drack så han kunnat andan sin mista.
Så bar han kista och alltidhop till en jude,
Som sa: "Mein Herr, firti Thaler kan jak wohl bjude."

In Castle Garden¹⁶ he dropped down alongside his chest
And ate and drank so that he nearly lost his breath.
Then he toted his chest and everything to a Jew
Who said: "Mein Herr! Forty dollars I can offer you."¹⁷

Men Petter Jönsson till hamnen styrde sin kosa,
Och da'n derpå reste han tillbaka till Trosa.
Och förr ska' solen väl spricka sönder i kanten,
Än Petter Jönsson far ut igen på Atlanten.

Then Peter Johnson down to the port steered his course,
And the next day he journeyed back to Trosa.
And rather likely the sun will split at the edges,
Ere Peter Johnson again ventures out on the Atlantic.

I have been unable to establish definitely when and where "Peter Johnson" was first published. It is not included in any of the published collections of Eltblad's verse. A Swedish weekly in Chicago, *Svenska Kuriren*, for January 25, 1923, reprinted it "in honor of its fiftieth anniversary." In a prefatory note the statement is there made that the ballad was first published in newspapers in Sweden during the month of December, 1872, and I am inclined to believe that this is correct. It was then copied by Swedish American newspapers and republished time and again during the next fifty years. In the 1880's and 1890's it was frequently printed as a broadside and hawked by ballad-mongers at county fairs in Sweden. It has been included in collections of

¹⁶ The former immigrant depot in the New York harbor at the point of Manhattan Island. A part of it contained a large public hall for assemblies and concerts; it was here, in 1850, that Jenny Lind, the Swedish nightingale, made her American début. In 1890 it ceased to be used as an immigrant depot; now a part of it is a public aquarium.

¹⁷ In the Swedish an attempt is made to reproduce Jewish dialect.

folk songs both in this country and in Sweden. Books dealing with Swedish emigration make mention of it and often quote it. A pretentious and beautifully designed book issued in Stockholm a few years ago, a pictorial review of the times of Oscar II,¹⁸ reprinted the entire ballad as a memento of the high tide of Swedish emigration. A recent small collection of emigrant ballads includes it together with the music score.¹⁹

The tune to which the ballad is sung is an old Swedish folk melody. It has been widely used for a number of other popular songs and ballads²⁰ for a hundred years or more.

Petter Jöns - son han såg i Fä - der nes - lan det att äm - betsmän - nen för-

stör det nor - dis - ka lan - det. Då blev han led - sen och tänk te: oje - keln a-

nam - ma jag tror jag ki - lar min väg och det med det - - sam - - ma !

Recently I inserted in the *Swedish American Tribune* a request for information about the ballad with the view of ascertaining how widely it was still remembered. An astonishing number of replies came in (almost one hundred), mostly from

¹⁸ Erik Lindorm, ed., *Oscar II och hans tid* (*Oscar II and His Time*), Stockholm, 1937; p. 207.

¹⁹ Brodin, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

²⁰ Among these are "Klockarefar" ("The Old Sexton"); "Sjömansvisan: Och far min salig han var en skeppare han, han" ("The Sailor's Ballad: My father, of blessed memory, was a skipper"); and "Vestgötavisan: Och far min salig han var en vestgöte han, han" ("Ballad of West Gothland: My father, of blessed memory, was a West Gothland man").

old people who could quote the song from memory. "I learned it in my youth in Sweden and I have now lived in America sixty (fifty, forty) years," was the typical note appended to dozens of these replies, or, in the case of a few, "I learned it as a child fifty (or sixty) years ago in Iowa (or Nebraska) from my mother, who had come from Sweden a few years before I was born." Thus for seventy-five years "Peter Johnson" has been laughed at on American mid-western farms, in northwestern lumber camps, in factories, and in homes everywhere, but now, as the centennial of Swedish emigration is being celebrated, the laughter is no longer as lusty as it was—it is a toothless, hacking laughter that will soon descend into silence.

TEGNÉR'S LITERARY ACTIVITY DURING THE PERIOD 1840-1846

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THE closing period of Tegnér's literary activity (1840-1846) has naturally not received so much attention as have the earlier periods of his life. During this final era of Tegnér's life the vital spark had waned, and only now and then did his masterful genius appear in its pristine vigor. The chief characteristic of his literary productions during this period was their fragmentary nature. Tegnér's ambition remained unabated, but his physical infirmities prevented him from finishing many poems and revisions which he had planned. While most of his poems reveal the failing genius of old age, they nevertheless retain many of those characteristics which marked his earlier productions. It is the purpose of this paper to co-ordinate in various poems of this final period of Tegnér's life the older with the younger Tegnér.

I. *Nattvandraren*

This poem was first printed in *Svenska Biet* (December 27, 1841), but the original manuscript has been lost, and unfortunately the poem bears no signature. However, there can be no doubt but that the poem was written by Tegnér, as Olle Holmberg has conclusively shown in his article "En nyfunnen Tegnérerdikt" (*Samlaren*, Vol. XXXV [1914], pp. 23-34). Holmberg here points out the close similarity between this poem and *Återkomsten till hembygden*, and his evidence seems convincing. But there is also much similarity between *Nattvandraren* and *Mjellsjukan* (1825). Holmberg admits this similarity in connection with the phrase "Hvad lider natten, väktare?" but sees no other resemblance between the two poems except the general attitude of pessimism. I feel, however, that there is a greater affinity between *Nattvandraren* and *Mjellsjukan* than Holmberg is inclined to admit. In *Nattvandraren* the poet pictures himself as fumbling about in the darkness with no light from heaven to guide him on his way:

Här famlar jag i dunklet. Hundens stjerna
I södern står, så bister och så blank;

Men hon vägleder ej,—och en lanterna
Behöfde jag, om äfven blott med dank.

In *Mjeltsjukan* darkness comes over the world; sun and stars are suddenly extinguished when the *svartelf* bites into the poet's heart:

och sol och stjernor mörknade i hast.

In both poems the poet cries out to the night-watchman to tell him the hour of night,¹ in the hope that light may come:

Nattvandraren

Hvad lider natten, väktare? Skall solen
Ej snart gå upp, att jag må hitta hem?

Mjeltsjukan

Säg mig, du väktare, hvad natten lider!
Tar det då aldrig något slut derpå?

In regard to the phrase "att jag må hitta hem" in *Nattvandraren*, Holmberg calls attention (p. 31) to the fact that in *Återkomsten* Tegnér felt himself estranged from his native town ("liksom skalden i Återkomsten känt sig hemlös i hembygden"). But this phrase "att jag må hitta hem" should be taken in connection with the last line of the poem:

All väg bär hemåt, som till grafven bär.

i.e., "hitta hem" and "bär hemåt" may both refer to *death*, the relief from life's suffering, just as approaching death is depicted in *Mjeltsjukan*. Although Holmberg concedes (p. 34) this affinity between this last line of *Nattvandraren* and *Mjeltsjukan*, he sees no connection between *Mjeltsjukan* and the phrase "att jag må hitta hem," i.e., that "hem" here may refer to *death*. It is improbable that Tegnér here used the word *hem* in two different senses, i.e., as referring both to his *own home* and to *death*. The pessimistic, elegiac tone (the certainty of approaching death) characteristic of *Nattvandraren* is in keeping with the whole spirit of *Mjeltsjukan* and with Tegnér's tendency to brood over his illness, which he believed to be fatal. But in *Nattran-*

¹ For a discussion of this passage see my article in *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 17 (1942), pp. 143-144.

draren the decadence of old age is clearly discernible, for the poem is decidedly inferior to *Mjeltsjukan* in those qualities which mark the latter as one of Tegnér's masterpieces, viz., clarity, power, contrast, and color.

II. *Ishjertat*²

In *Ishjertat* Tegnér depicts a cold wintry day; the frost has gathered upon the windowpanes and among the various figures which it traces is the likeness of a heart. This "ice-heart" is the symbol of the poet's own heart, frozen, cold, and insensible to pain:

Ack det känner ingen smärta,
lyckligt är det väl alltså.
Ty lycklig den som icke lider,
hoppet men och längtan qvitt.
Hör bekännelsen omsider,
snart från sina drömmar fritt,
detta hjerta—det är mitt.

This metaphor of the poet's "ice-heart" which is insensible to pain bears a close resemblance to the picture in *Mjeltsjukan* where Tegnér compares his heart to a funeral urn with only the ashes of life within it:

Mitt hjerta? I mitt bröst fins intet hjerta,
en urna blott med lifvets aska i.

A metaphor similar to "ishjertat" Tegnér likewise applies to Swedish cultural life when in his letter to G. Mohnike (July 6, 1829) he says: ". . . vår genius blir frostbiten liksom våra skördar."

III. *Ideen*³

This poem bears a close resemblance both to *Panteismen* (ca. 1840) and to *Det eviga* (1810). In *Ideen* Tegnér conceives of God as the eternal reality, as a spirit from which the universe emanates. One of the most significant parallels between *Det eviga* and *Ideen* is Tegnér's conception of poetry as an expression of this divine essence.

In *Det eviga*, poetry is conceived as an expression of beauty,

² Date uncertain.

³ Date uncertain.

one of the eternal verities; it is not the outward form but the inner significance of poetry that renders it immortal:

Och diktten är icke som blommornas doft,
som färgade bågen i skyar.
Det sköna, du bildar, är mera än stoft,
och åldern dess anlet förnyar.

So too in *Ideen*, it is the divine spirit (*Ideen*), in and about all things, that reveals itself in poetry and infuses into it the eternal element of beauty:

Gif akt. Idén, den eviga, är allt,
är tingens urgrund, icke blott gestalt.
Det är dess bilder endast du förnimmer
i solens låga och i stjernans skimmer,
och Dikten ligger ej i bild och ljud.
För lätt, för flyktig är dess lätta skrud.

This ideal conception of poetry as an expression of the divine was a favorite philosophical thesis with Tegnér. Even as late as 1843, in his *Epilog vid Vexiö gymnasii jubelfest* he reverts to the same conception:

Skald skall skapa också, men ingifvelsen lärs ej af andra,
kommer af Gudi blott, som allt godt kommer af honom.
* * * * *
minnets harposträng vibrerar och klingar i dikten.
Detta är formernas verld, men ej de formers du sjelf gjort,
Gud har gjort dem åt dig. Uppfatta dem, siare, bilda
troget dem af, som de stå för svärmande ögat, men säg ej,
att du diktat dem sjelf: Gud har dem diktat allena!

IV. *Tror du Skalden sjelf ej känt*⁴

It is significant that Tegnér, who normally received criticism of his poetry with scholarly modesty and openmindedness, should have written a poem in which he expresses bitter indignation toward his critics. But self-contradiction was one of the peculiarities of Tegnér's temperament, and it is therefore not surprising that in a moment of depression he should have yielded to an emotion which his modesty and good sense did not approve. In the poem *Tror du Skalden sjelf ej känt* Tegnér first de-

⁴ Date uncertain.

picts the ideals of the poet, the expression of the divine, which survives the temporal. But in the concluding lines of the poem he lapses into a personal confession of resentment towards his critics. As the title indicates, the poet has felt the sting of criticism:

Prisar man också hans snille,
svärmaren man klandrar dock
mer än många annat block,
öfverdriftens son, som magrar
ibland ofruktbara lagrar,
ingen myrthen blommar der,
hur olycklig skalden är!—

How different this attitude towards the poet's calling from the noble sentiment expressed in his poem *Sången* (1819)!

En evig längtan är ej sången,
han är en evig seger brott.

Den gylne lyan skall ej klinga
om qual, dem sjelf jag diktat har,
ty skaldens sorger äro inga
och sångens himmel evigt klar.

In the poem *Tror du Skalden sjelf ej känt* the references to the poet as "svärmaren" and "öfverdriftens son" evidently harken back to the criticisms directed against Tegnér as a sentimental Romanticist, especially as this tendency was revealed in his *Frithiofs saga*. Although in his letters and especially in his *Anmärkningar såsom inledning till Frithiofs saga* (1839) Tegnér had accepted this criticism in a sane, scholarly spirit, it is evident that in his old age he had momentarily lapsed into an attitude of peevish resentment.

V. Tegnér's Antipathy Towards German Culture

Although an admirer of Goethe, Schiller, and many other great German poets, Tegnér always cherished an antipathy towards German lack of clarity and simplicity. The German tendency to metaphysical speculation and the involved style and thought of German literature were in direct contrast to Tegnér's own ideal of poetry—"kraft och klarhet." Besides, the Germans lacked a sympathetic understanding of Scandinavian literature, and at this time, when German literary criticism was dominant

in the North, Tegnér must have felt resentment towards German intellectual arrogance. In fact, this feeling is quite frequently expressed in his poems during this last era of his life. For instance, in his poem *Porträtt af en Anonym* (1840), in which Tegnér is evidently portraying the Swedish ideal of culture, he says:

Bort med Tyskarnas konst, pedantisk, methodisk och småtänkt,
osjelfständig och dum. Svea skall herrska som förr.

And again, he says of the Swede:

[Han] tackar för Tyskarnas råd, men han ej följer dem lätt.

In his poem *Till Göthilda Rappe* (1842), in which Tegnér requests her to read a certain German pedagogical work,⁶ he cannot refrain from disparaging allusions to German "affectation" and "confusion":

Hvad ett snille, fastän Tysk, har tänkt
om uppfosten och om menskobildning!
ser du här, fast då och då befängdt
i affektation och Tysk förvildning,
något krakguld, men gediget guld,
läs, begrunda det—for barnens skuld!

Again, in the obituary poem (1841) dedicated to his German friend G. Mohnike, who had so skilfully translated Tegnér's Swedish into German, Tegnér expresses all the more gratitude to his translator in that the German language and cultural life lack clarity and simplicity:

Du ock gått hän, du endaste som knöt
mig till Germaniens språk och töckenland!
• • • • •
Ett sällsamt töcken ligger derutöver
och dimgestalter sväva för hvar syn.
• • • • •
Sök icke der det klara, det bestämda,
det rediga, dess plats är icke der.
• • • • •
En Recensionsanstalt, heli lärd och boksynt
Germanien är,—det är ett Caspiskt haf
som tager många floder i sitt sköte

⁶ Neither the work nor the author is definitely known (cf. *Samlade skrifter*, ny kritisk upplaga kronologiskt ordnad, utgiven af Ewert Wrangel och Fredrik Böök [Stockholm, 1925], Vol. IX, p. 635).

men skickar ingen ut: de lösas upp
i moln och dunst och metafysisk dimma.

This disparaging attitude towards the pedantic character of German culture Tegnér had emphatically expressed as early as 1820,⁶ in a letter (September 2) to Martina von Schwerin, when he wrote: "Med undantag af två eller tre stora namn, kan jag icke neka att jag förälskar hela det heliga Romerska riket. Fransyska vitterheten med all sin ytligitet och prosa har dock åtminstone en Nationalfysiognomi; men den Tyska är och förblifver en blott profcharta." And as late as 1842,⁷ in a letter (August 10) to J. J. Berzelius, he says: "Kännetecknet på Poesien skall (efter Kant) vara att man ej vet hur man kommit till sina ideer. Det tror jag också—men blott för Tyskarna. Har du gjort en enda upptäckt som du ej vet huru den kommit till? Lefve förståndet, pereat Tyskeriet!" Tegnér's youthful prejudices were seldom obliterated in his old age.

In conclusion it may be said that this final period of Tegnér's life was productive of little that marked him as the genius that he was. But the lines which I have drawn between the older and the younger Tegnér may serve to round out the picture of the poet's grand contribution to Swedish letters. I cannot here refrain from quoting Tegnér's own words as illustrative of his gentle spirit and his modest attitude towards the contribution of his life's work. In the last letter that he ever wrote, addressed to Archbishop C. F. af Wingård (July 5, 1845), he says of his approaching death: "Ske Guds vilje! Måtte jag hos Vänner och Gynnare qvarlempna i sådant fall, om icke ett stort, åtminstone ett älskadt minne." Little did Tegnér realize that the memory he left was as great as it was beloved.

⁶ Cf. also *Nyåret* (1816):

Ut vill jag resa till Tyskland att lära
dikta sonetter till tidens ära.

⁷ Disparaging allusions both to the German language and to German literature occur during this late period (1840–1844) also in his essays; cf. *Om tyska språket* (*Samlade skrifter*, ed. Wrangel-Böök, Vol. IX, pp. 315–317), and *Om opartiskhet* (*ibid.*, p. 317). In the latter essay he says: "Huru bedömmmer jag sjelf Tyskarna? Kan det gifvas ett djupare föräkt än det jag känner för denna spekulativa pöbel."

THE VOLUSPÅ AND ITS NAME

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THE closest scrutiny is required to detect the faint remnants of a title at the head of the first and greatest poem in *Codex Regius* 2365 (*ca.* 1270), the collection known as the *Elder or Poetic Edda*.¹ There is no title whatever to the version presented in *Hauksbók* (*ca.* 1325). But Snorri Sturluson, writing just half a century before the date usually assigned to *CR*, mentions the *Völuspá* several times by name and also quotes a considerable portion of the poem. The quotations in Snorri's *Edda* clearly indicate that the version familiar to him was essentially the same as that which has been handed down in *CR*. Furthermore, rather certain evidence that the *Völuspá* was current even earlier in Iceland and Norway is furnished by a strophe presumably composed under its influence by Arnórr Þórðarson (*ca.* 1012—*ca.* 1073):

*Bjort verðr sól at svartrí (var. sortna),
sókkr fold i mar (var. lög) dökkan,
brestr erfði Austra,
allr glymr sjár á fjöllum.*²

Cf. *Vsp.* 57, 1–4:

*Sól térl (var. mun) sortna, sligr (var. sókkr) fold i mar,
hverfa af himni heiðar stjornur;
geisar eimi við aldrnara (var. ok aldrnari),
leikr hör hiti við himin sjalfan.*³

Sophus Bugge heard an echo of *Vsp.* 32 (*blóðgum tívur*) in the expression *fróðgum tívi* in the eighth strophe of Þjóðolfr-of-Hvin's *Hauslóng*,⁴ and it is perhaps not impossible that the

¹ Cf. *Håndskrifet Nr. 2365 4° gl. kgl. Samling (Codex regius af den ældre Edda) i fototypisk og diplomatisk gengivelse udgivet ved Ludw. F. A. Wimmer og Finnur Jónsson*, p. 1 of the MS. København, 1891.

² Cf. F. Jónsson in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 42, p. 216. But see L. M. Hollander, *The Skalds*, p. 178, footnote 7. Princeton, 1945.

³ K. Hildebrand und H. Gering, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, p. 20. Paderborn, 1922.

⁴ *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, translated by W. H. Schofield, p. xxxix, footnote 1. London, 1899.

words *hristusk berg ok brustu bjørg* in strophe 16 of the same poem are reminiscences of *Vsp.* 52 (*grjólbjørg gnata . . . en himinn klofnar*) as well as of the final line of *Vsp.* 57. Þjóðolfr, who was one of Harold Hairfair's skalds, lived long before Arnórr Þórðarson.

To these external proofs of the existence of the *Völuspá* in western Scandinavia before the twelfth century has been added the internal evidence offered by the contents of the poem itself. In spite of the Christian motives appearing in it,⁵ it is now generally believed that it could not have been composed by a Christian poet; rather, it must have been given its present West Scandinavian form at the end of the ninth, or at the beginning of the tenth, century, when vague reports of the new religion were coming from the south and west of Europe. But the theory that the *Völuspá* was originally created in Norway or Iceland, as scholars of an older day insisted, is no longer tenable. Even as early as 1908 Neckel argued,⁶ on the basis of metrical and stylistic differences between the various strophes, that the *Völuspá* as we know it must be a revision of an earlier poem. Wisely enough, he doubted that the original poem could ever be satisfactorily reconstructed. Birger Nerman would place the rise of the *Völuspá* and of other Eddic poems in which gold plays a prominent role—or at least essential parts of them—in the centuries preceding the Viking Age, because archaeological finds have proved that those centuries were the age of gold and gilded objects *par excellence* in Scandinavia, while the Viking Age was pre-eminently the period of silver.⁷ Still more cogent are the arguments of Hugo Pipping,⁸ who has successfully shown the East Scandinavian, i.e., Swedish, origin of several important

⁵ Cf. Axel Olrik, *Om Ragnarok*, p. 290 (*Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, II. række, 17. bind, 3. hefte, 1902).

⁶ *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, p. 329. Dortmund, 1908.

⁷ *The Poetic Edda in the Light of Archaeology*, pp. 12 ff. Coventry, 1931.

⁸ "Völuspá och Sverige" in *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Årsbok*, Vol. IV B, pp. 1–16. But Heimdal(l)r must be a personal god in the *Völuspá* as we have it. *Himinjödýr*, too, must have been misinterpreted very soon, as it has been altered to *himinjaðar* 'edge of Heaven' in early paper MSS (Gering, *ibid.*, p. 12). See also J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. II (Berlin und Leipzig, 1937), pp. 297 f., who is inclined to agree with Pipping.

concepts in the *Völuspá*, such as that of Heimdallr as the world-tree or, in the form Heimdalr, as the vault of Heaven, and that of *himinjödýr* (*Vsp.* 5, 2 CR) as the world-tree, to which the constellations of stars were tethered like horses. These ideas must have been borrowed from the religious systems of various East European and Asiatic tribes. In the first syllable of *tviði* 'yew' (2, 3) and of *tívur* (32, 1) he sees the E. Scand. non-labialized representative of W. Scand. *ȝ*,⁹ while the meaning of *feigr* 'dead' (not 'fey, doomed to die') in 41, 1, recalls the similar sense of this word on the Rök stone.¹⁰ *Vígspár* (24, 4) may be considered another E. Scand. term in the *Völuspá*, if its interpretation as "(fields) exposed to battle," given in *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. XV (1938), pp. 85–86, is correct. Cf. E. Swed. *väderspår* 'exposed to the weather.' The usual meaning of *spår* in OIcel. is 'foreseeing, prophetic'; cf. also *velspår* (*Vsp.* 22, 2) 'good at prophesying' and *veðrspår* 'weatherwise, able to foretell the weather.' Höckert¹¹ is likewise convinced that the *Völuspá* was originally a Swedish poem which had as its theme the struggle between the ancient cult of Heimdallr and the newer cult of Odin.

From Sweden, its homeland, the *Völuspá* travelled, so to speak, down to Hedeby in southern Denmark, that most important center of business and culture in olden days.¹² From there it went on to Norway and finally to Iceland, where it was at last written down. The poem was naturally recast from time to time and details were added at various points in its journey. In the Hedeby region the *Járnviðr* (40, 1) and the peculiarly Danish (and West Germanic) name *Eggþér* were probably incorporated.¹³ Either there or in southern Norway knowledge of the game of tables may have reached the poem,¹⁴ while the Christian motives must have been introduced and fused with the original

⁹ Cf. also J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 204.

¹⁰ Also Helmut Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, Tafel XIV. Halle, 1935.

¹¹ R. Höckert, *Völuspá och Vanakullen*, Vol. II, p. 6 and p. 143. Uppsala, 1930.

¹² Elis Wadstein, *Norden och Västeuropa i gammal tid*, pp. 53 f. Stockholm, 1925.

¹³ *Studier i nordisk filologi*, Vol. XVII, 3, pp. 117–120.

¹⁴ Van Hamel in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 50, p. 229.

pagan elements by the Norwegian poet who put the work into its final form as an expression of his personal belief in the coming destruction of the old wicked world and the creation of a new world of innocence and happiness.

The history of the *Völuspá* as set forth here presupposes that the famous first strophe, which has been a bone of contention for so long, was part of the poem from the beginning and is not, as some¹⁵ have supposed, a later addition. Obscure passages here and elsewhere do indeed gain a certain degree of clarity as soon as one thinks of Heimdallr not as a personal god but as a name for the world-tree, and of the *megir Heimdallar* as worshippers belonging to the cult of the tree,¹⁶ although it may well be doubted that the final reviser of the poem had these conceptions. But one can go further and assert that the riddle in 1, 3, can be solved by the assumption that the *Völuspá* was once a Heimdallr poem which was remodelled by a West Scandinavian poet to suit his own purposes. For some think that *vel* in 1, 3, should be read as *vél* 'trick, treachery, deception.'¹⁷ Höckert even uses the "certainty" (!) of this reading as the starting point for his entire thesis, although there is no evidence of an accent mark either in *CR* or in *Hauksbók*. *Vildo* in *CR*'s *vildo at ek Valfqðr vel fyr telja* can hardly be anything else but the third plur. pret. "they have wished," while *Valfqðr* may be nom. (voc.) or gen. sg.¹⁸ *Hauksbók* has *villtu at ek Vafqðrs vel fram telja*, in which *villtu* is certainly the second person sg. of the present tense (with suffixed pronoun) and *Vafqðrs* a misspelling of *Valfqðrs*, the later gen. sg. of *Valfaðir*. It would seem, then, that both manuscripts are in error and that the line first read: *vildo* (third pl. pret.) *at ek Valfqðr* (gen.) *vél fyr* (or *fram*) *telja*, which was later altered to *villtu* (second sg. pres.) *at ek, Valfqðr* (voc.), *vel fyr telja*, the object of *telja* now being *forn spjöll* in line 4, whereas in the first version these words stood in apposition to *vél*. I take the altered sentence

¹⁵ R. C. Boer, *Die Lieder der Edda*, Vol. II (*Commentar*), pp. 1 f. Haarlem, 1922.

¹⁶ Pipping in *Studier i nordisk filologi*, Vol. XVIII, 4, p. 43.

¹⁷ Hildebrand-Gering, *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸ A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*⁴, §420, Anm. 2. Halle, 1923.

to be a 'concessive' clause meaning "supposing that (provided that), Odin, you wish . . . ?"¹⁹ As it now stands, Odin has evidently summoned the *völva* to reveal her secret knowledge, for he is deeply worried over Balder's death and the imminent fall of the gods. The change from *völ* to *vel* is motivated by the peremptory command of the *völva* for silence so that she may "well" relate her "tales of ancient times." This circumstance explains why *vel* alliterates; Höckert's objection²⁰ that the alteration is a "stilistisk plathet" cannot be valid.

In the first strophe of the older version a very wise woman, friendly to the members of the Heimdallr cult, promised to relate how Odin had treacherously seized universal power for himself and his followers and what the consequences must be for the worshippers of Heimdallr (the world-tree); in the remodelled version she is aroused by Odin from her eternal sleep in the bowels of the earth, to tell him and the rest of her audience the historical reasons for the disaster which is obviously about to befall them. This is the only rational interpretation of the last half-line of the entire poem: *nú mun hon sþókkvast*, which cannot refer to the dragon Niflhoggr, since here the feminine *hon* occurs in both *CR* and *Hauksbók*. The question then arises whether *sþá* in the title can properly be rendered by "prophecy," "Weissagung," "spadaom," as most, but not all, editors and translators have done in modern times. For if the poem, though constructed out of many disparate elements, or motives, is indeed a unified work on the whole, as de Vries rightly insists,²¹ then the word *sþá* in the title, if taken to mean "prophecy," must of necessity refer only to its last third. The *forn sþjöll* are left entirely out of account. Sensing this difficulty, Müllenhoff and Mogk speak of the "eigentliche *sþá*" as beginning after the transition strophe 30 (*Valði henni Herfögðr hringa ok men*, etc.),²² while Gering says that the *völva* legitimates herself before commencing her account

¹⁹ Cf. M. Nygaard, *Norrón Syntax*, pp. 203 f. Kristiania, 1906.

²⁰ Höckert, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 3. Uppsala, 1926.

²¹ De Vries, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

²² K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, p. 20. Berlin, 1908. E. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, p. 580. Berlin, 1901-1909.

of things to come.²³ But is it reasonable to suppose that this primordial, extremely wise woman, who has risen in such mysterious fashion from the depths and who must, by her very nature, command the utmost respect of gods and men, needs to "legitimate" herself? If this is the sense of the *völva's* question: *Vituð er enn eða hvat*, why is it repeated in 34, 39, 41, 48, 62, and 63? The question seems instead to imply: "Now do you know enough? Do you really want to know everything I can tell you? I am afraid you won't like it very much." As she pauses after each repetition, we can imagine Odin giving her an impatient sign to continue, because he is determined to learn all that he can. Under these circumstances it seems justifiable to inquire whether *spá* in the title does not have a wider, more inclusive, and at the same time more fundamental meaning than the usual one, especially since the poem is so old that it may very well have arisen before the meaning of *spá* had become restricted to that of 'sight into the future, prophecy.' For the word *spá* (<**spahō*) corresponds sound for sound with Grk. *σκοπή* (with metathesis of *κ* and *π*) 'lookout place, watchtower' and is further closely connected with Lat. *species* 'a seeing, sight, view, appearance, form, vision seen in a dream,' etc., Lat. *specio* 'behold, see,' Grk. *σκέπτομαι* 'look about, examine, consider,' OHG *speha* 'prüfendes, aufmerksames Betrachten, Untersuchung, Auskundschaftung, Aufpassen,' and many similar words in the various IE dialects.²⁴ With the exception of *spá*, no one of these words has developed the idea of 'seeing into the future, foretelling,' unless, like Lat. *haruspex* 'one who foretells the future by inspecting entrails,'²⁵ Lat. *auspex*, Grk. *οἰωνοσκότος* 'one who foretells the future by observing (the habits of) birds,' it has entered into composition with another word which more specifically defines the act of seeing. Consequently, the extension of meaning from 'sight' to 'sight into the future, prophecy' seems to have been confined to Scandinavian.

²³ *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, Vol. I, p. 37. Halle, 1927.

²⁴ A. Walde und J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Vol. II, pp. 659 f. Berlin und Leipzig, 1927.

²⁵ A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p. 425. Paris, 1932.

In strophe 1 the wise woman, who is certainly not to be placed in the same category with the ordinary fortunetellers of the sagas, says that she will first of all relate her tales of ancient times (*forn spjoll*). Sinking into a trance, she recounts the history of the world as she has known it from its creation out of chaos up to *Ragnarök*, which has already begun. Her story is told in the past tense, except where she mentions what is still existing or where she utters ominous hints of what is still to come. Then strophes 44 to 58, beginning and ending with the refrain strophe: *Geyr nū Garmr mjøk*, etc., tell of the approaching end of the world, and the final section (59–66) describes the new world which will rise in its stead. The *völva*'s long story is interrupted in strophe 30, the poet taking occasion to tell how Odin gave her rings and jewels, in return for which he received *spjoll spaklig* and *spá ganda*. Both of these, the wise sayings concerning the past (for the phrase must be synonymous with the *forn spjoll* of strophe 1) and the *spá ganda*, that is, the *sight* of the spirits necessary for the successful prosecution of *seiðr*²⁶ and for the predicting of the future, must, I think, be included in the *spá* of the title. The expression *spá ganda* recalls the line *vitti hon ganda* “observed the spirits” (said of Heiðr) in 22—i.e., “practised magic.”²⁷ From the compound expression *spá ganda* or a similar one the classical meaning of *spá* as ‘prophecy’ may have developed (cf. Lat. *haruspex* above). But it must originally have meant simply ‘sight’ in both its active function of ‘seeing’ and its passive one of ‘what is seen,’ then ‘what is seen in a trance or dream, vision’ (cf. the semantic development of Lat. *species*). In *Guðrúnarkviða* 39 the norns arouse Atli with a “sight” (in his dreams) of evil to come; and *uparabasba* (*úparbas-spá*) on the Björketorp stone (ca. 650) is not so much a “prophecy of evil”²⁸ as a warning that whoever enters the gravemound, protected by the magic runes, in an attempt to rob it will encounter an “evil sight” (the runes themselves), which alone will be sufficient to bring upon him the most dreadful misfortunes. To this, the oldest occurrence of *spá* in the North, and to the

²⁶ J. de Vries in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, Vol. V, p. 59.

²⁷ G. Neckel in *ZfdA*, Vol. 49, p. 316.

²⁸ W. Krause, *Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*, p. 90.

spā of *Völuspá*, which may well be equally old, there seems to cling the notion of 'that which is seen, sight, vision,' with no reference to time. It is significant that Simrock, departing in his translation of the *Edda* from the usual path, renders the title of the *Völuspá* as *Der Seherin Gesicht*²⁹ and that Heusler, who had previously used the term *Weissagung*,³⁰ employs the same words as does Simrock, on page 179 of *Die algermanische Dichtung*.³¹ The *Völuspá*, unlike its later imitation, the *Grípisspá*, is not merely a prophecy, even in the peculiarly Scandinavian sense of the word as a statement that inevitably determines the course of future events; it is a "vision," delivered in a state of ecstasy and covering both the past and the future, not only in its original form as a poem recited to the worshippers of Heimdallr by a very wise woman who bears a close resemblance to that "woman in the tree" of Eastern religions who told the first man the reasons for his existence, but also in its later form as a poem recited to Odin and his followers by the *völva*, who took her place in Scandinavia.

²⁹ *Die Edda übersetzt ins Deutsche* (herausgegeben von G. Neckel), p. 165. Berlin, 1927.

³⁰ As in his edition of the *Völuspá*, Berlin, 1887.

³¹ Berlin, 1923.

SOME ASPECTS OF INTENSIVE LANGUAGE TECHNIQUE

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NORWEGIAN and Swedish were two of many languages taught to Army personnel during the war years. The history of the Army Specialized Training Program is now available in a recent publication for the Commission on Implications of Armed Services Educational Programs of the American Council on Education, entitled "Language and Area Studies in the Armed Services," by Robert John Matthew. A more detailed analysis, "The Investigation of the Teaching of a Second Language," by the Rockefeller Foundation,¹ is soon to be published. The language journals in the last four or five years have overwhelmed us with a mass of material relative to the Army Specialized Training Program and similar programs in the Navy. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss briefly the rationale of some aspects of intensive language technique, to comment regarding some secondary materials and techniques, and to draw some tentative conclusions which might receive further consideration by those who are engaged in the teaching of a second language. The writer has of necessity based the material for this paper mainly upon his own experiences in the AST Swedish program at the University of Minnesota during the war years.

Rationale of Some Aspects of Intensive Language Technique

The basic phrases occurring in the early lessons expressed, in the foreign language, concepts which are common in the daily life of every individual. As the course progressed, conversations dealing with the family, weather, transportation facilities, and similar topics were replaced by lessons dealing with the geography, history, and literature of the country. It is logical for the student to master the simple before proceeding to the more complex.

A child, when he is thirsty, learns first to say, "Water." Later, he adds, "Drink—water." After instruction from his mother, he asks, "Drink—water—please." Much later, he might

¹ This paper is based upon work done by the author as a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation in "The Investigation of the Teaching of a Second Language."

say, "Please, may I have a drink of water?" While the wording has varied, the concept remains the same. It represents a basic concept which developed into a stock phrase.

A student who has learned a few complete concepts is able to leave the first hour of instruction with the feeling that he already has 'gotten some place.'

All early lessons contained concepts which were of such a practical nature that it was apparent to the student that they were useful daily. The question "Why must I learn this?" was answered for him at the outset, and his immediate interest was aroused. No concept stood alone as an isolated unit to be learned. All lessons were written in the form of conversation, linking each new thought to preceding sentences and those to follow.

The student first learned stock phrases, i.e., the basic sentences of each lesson. Learning began in the class group by memory and mimicry, which procedure is largely mechanical. It becomes more highly mechanized if record players as well as persons serve as "informants." Phrases must from the beginning be vitalized in three important ways:

(1) The stock phrases are in themselves vital. Their relation to daily life is made evident to the student by consulting the English phrases. They are familiar in terms of concepts and situations. The student is ready to act because he will be able to put them into practice at once. The stock phrases, therefore, are vital because they are meaningful and purposeful.

(2) The phrases are vitalized by the speaker, whether he be the instructor, the drill master, or the voice on the record. If the speaker evidences enthusiasm and creates confidence by precision and sureness, the student is alerted and encouraged to respond in like manner. Observation will demonstrate that the student will always attempt to imitate variations in inflection and accent which occur. The lack of animation on the part of the speaker will have either the dilatory effect of slowing up the learning process of even the most efficient student or of reducing the whole procedure to mere rote.

(3) The phrases are activated by the student in two ways: through past experience and through active participation in all the varied activities of the class. Past experience is certainly called into play by active participation. To a considerable degree, the one is part and parcel of the other. In learning the basic

sentences by memory and mimicry, the student encounters material of familiar content. Out of his past experience he recognizes the concept. His problem is not learning a new concept but a new way of expressing it. It is true that an occasional concept common in the foreign language is entirely new to him. Such entirely new concepts occur infrequently. But, discovering such a novel phrase creates interest and becomes an aid rather than a hindrance to learning.

A whole-part-whole technique of instruction was employed, beginning with the complete sentence, proceeding to the particular sounds, then returning to the complete sentence. The repetition of the whole before the parts operates, among other things, on the principle that the beginning and conclusion are more readily grasped than the syllables in between. This being the case, the middle syllables require more clarification and drill. In addition, it is the purpose of this procedure to give every *first* impression meaning to the student. This, in turn, is facilitated by the use of the written phrases which provide the equivalent English concept before the foreign language is heard.

Only a few sentences were attempted the first day, and these consisted of short and familiar concepts. During the first weeks, not more than ten to fifteen new sentences were introduced daily. Opportunity for assimilation must occur frequently and gradually. This implies that when a student has learned a few new phrases, he needs *immediate* practice in a meaningful situation.

Lesson One contained 39 different words in 28 of some of the most frequently used concepts in the language. The words in this lesson contained all the vowels and nearly all the consonants in the language. In addition, virtually all variations between the spoken and written language were demonstrated in the first three lessons. Needless to say, sounds, words, and concepts recurred again and again in succeeding lessons. The fact that the students were informed of the importance, purpose, and value of the early, simple materials contributed to their interests, drive, and willingness to overlook whatever monotony was inevitable.

Progress in learning a foreign language is a result of careful gradation of difficulty—from the simple to the complex, from the general to the particular, from the coarse to the fine. A desire to communicate effectively should be aroused the first day. Un-

der enthusiastic and competent leadership in the demonstration and drill the student is stimulated to do this accurately.

Comprehension of higher units of thought, such as phrases, clauses, idioms, and sentences, provides greater opportunity for making the spoken language automatic than does the comprehension of words and syllables. When one is asked, "What would you like to do this afternoon?" the concept "What would you like to—" is grasped before the question is completed. Such an automatic response is acquired only through much repetition under circumstances having meaning to the learner.

As soon as a few phrases had been learned, the student began to "act out" his lines. Immediately, he was able to associate kinesthetic movement with the concepts. The stimuli were the words spoken by the instructor, the student's imitation as he responded aloud, and also the situations developed by him and his classmates. Later, the printed word and the act of writing became additional stimuli.

The ever-present chance of practicing an incorrect response was reduced by the frequency with which the correct pronunciation was heard in the demonstration and class groups under the supervision of an instructor. Further, individual attention and close supervision were possible in the learning and conversation groups. If an incorrect response has been learned, it must be corrected and overcome. However, in using a highly personalized procedure as a fundamental technique, the chance of practicing incorrect pronunciation over an extended period does not exist with any high degree of probability. The conversational method demands action on the part of both student and teacher. It brings out those latent powers of showmanship and acting which is a part of us all. An important principle of the stage is very apropos: Keep it moving. Everyone has witnessed an unnatural or unintentional pause on the stage. The actor's trend of thought is lost; his absorption in the play is destroyed; and temporarily, he is unable again to "lose" himself in the play. Similarly, the act of correction becomes an art. The learner grasps the correction as automatically as the actor his cue from the prompter. If learning is to proceed without interruption, the correction must be an implantation rather than an interpolation.

Any extraneous material or activity interferes with or reduces the opportunity for learning. It is sometimes the case that the instructor's actions or wordiness actually distract the learner.

The teacher must ask himself, "Is the student learning more accurately and faster because he is sitting there listening to me?" The student learns to speak by speaking. This activity is held at a maximum when the teacher is willing to subordinate himself to the principle of helping the student learn. By moving his "teacher's desk" to the basement, so to speak, and going to the side of the student, the teacher becomes an assistant and co-worker, rather than some one from whom knowledge exudes or emanates.

In Swedish, as in other languages, the problems of dialects and variation in pronunciation present themselves. Students were instructed to follow the pronunciation of their own drill master. It was explained that individual differences exist in speaking the English, or any other, language. They were assured that while the speech of their drill master might differ on occasion from that of another native, his language was acceptable and reliable. Staff meetings tended to increase uniformity, since they gave an opportunity for the ironing-out of those differences which occurred most frequently. Staff members then decided on one good way of expression, which was adopted by all. This plan proved workable and produced good results.

Does this procedure eliminate or reduce the need for instruction in grammatical structure? On the contrary, it calls for details of grammar at a time when the need is evidenced by the student's overt behavior. The stimuli-response pattern elicits two responses from him: S (oral→aural)→R (subvocal→oral). The response is active because he is confronted with a problem. Since the student knows the concept to be expressed, his problem becomes the accurate imitation of the instructor. If he is encouraged to respond first subvocally, his opportunities for overt activity are doubled. This is more profitable for him than to listen *only*. A chief fault of language instruction has been the amount of verbalism on the part of the instructor. While the student learns partially by relatively inactive listening, according to Guthrie "it is essential that the student be led to do what is to be learned."² If we consider the expression of the concept as a problem to be solved, then, as Guthrie continues, "confronting

² Guthrie, E. R., "Conditioning: A Theory of Learning in Terms of Stimulus, Response, and Association," in the Forty-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, page 55. Bloomington, Illinois, Public School Publishing Co., 1942.

a problem, an individual is in a state of conflict, and emotional reinforcement occurs. The individual becomes alert and more energetic, behavior becomes varied. Trial and error occur and eventually a line of response may eliminate the conflict and constitute a solution."

When the learner has acquired the ability to express a number of concepts in the new language, he begins to ask questions in an effort to find variations of the concepts or ways of expressing closely-related ideas. The desire and need for new constructs is now present, and the time is ripe for instruction in the details of sentence structure. In some cases, the student may be unaware of his needs or unable to define them. Data compiled by annotated observations made by the instructor may supply additional evidence. Thus, a favorable interaction between students and staff will bring to light the difficulties that are being encountered and the information needed to solve them. It is the duty of the instructor to analyze and classify these problems so that solutions may be presented in an integrated, well-organized pattern.

Such teaching is not cut and dried; it is hard work. However, it pays big dividends in student reaction. In the light of educational psychology, perhaps the greatest justification of the procedure lies in the many areas of motivation which are permitted to operate.

Secondary Materials and Techniques

The microphone proved the most useful of the audio-visual aids employed in the Swedish language program. This device provides a one-minute recording period with an immediate playback. The student could record for one minute, listen to the result, make corrections, and discuss his errors with the instructor. In some cases, a second recording was made with corrections.

Phonograph records and films were used infrequently in the Swedish program since available materials were inadequate for educational purposes. The few films used were old and the sound faulty. Few records were discovered which could be adjusted to the aural-oral techniques employed.

The learning and singing of Swedish songs occupied a regular hour in the schedule. A new song was introduced in much the

same manner as was a basic lesson. Marching songs were favorites and were sung with great gusto.

In the drill sections, usually weekly, short Swedish speeches were delivered by students on assigned topics or extemporaneously. Two- or three-minute speeches were introduced after the twelfth week; later they became longer and extempore. Both drill master and students made written notes of errors; both entered into discussing the errors and correcting them as soon as the speech was concluded.

Speeches were replaced occasionally by group discussion. Necessarily, this occurred late in the course. Usually, three students made up a round table, joined at intervals by the drill master. Topics for discussion related to the political, social, and cultural aspects of life in Sweden.

Throughout the latter half of the course, one hour each week was set aside for a visitor. Besides the consideration of command of the language, these persons were selected because they were specialists in some field related to Swedish culture or affairs. Thus, the speech treated some vital subject. It was followed by a question and answer session and a lively discussion in Swedish.

Dictation was used as a learning device as well as for testing. A short paragraph of a suitable degree of difficulty was selected to demonstrate certain points of usage and was read in Swedish at a normal rate of speed. The student wrote what he heard. Individuals then read what they had written, a sentence at a time. When errors had been discussed, each student received a correct copy of the sentences.

Swedish newspapers and periodicals were read as reference material, particularly as sources for speech topics and military terms. All such reading was on a voluntary basis.

Many natives of Sweden lived in the community. The students had many opportunities to meet these people in social situations. In addition to a great deal of practice in conversation, they often had an opportunity to sing Swedish songs.

The criterion for the evaluation of any device or technique is: Does it make a definite and positive contribution to the learning situation? The contribution may consist of progress in learning the subject matter, of student interest, student participation in the activity, and motivation.

The chief criticism of the available audio-visual aids was

that, except for the microphone, they were not geared to the needs of the course. They consumed time far out of proportion to their contribution and required only the passive attention of the student. The microphone demanded the full attention of the student at every moment, permitted instruction and practice to one student at a time, and made possible immediate discussion of difficulties in pronunciation, intonation, and general structure of the language. Psychological immediacy with correction in the perceptual present is of inestimable value. If to this are added student self-criticism and his interest in recording and hearing his own voice, there results a three-fold meaningful learning situation.

Meaningful student participation is important in using dictation, speeches, and similar classroom procedures. The instructor must be sure that the activity engages every student in the class. Listening is not enough. An example is the speech procedure. The listeners are aware that they are to make notes of the speaker's errors and are given an opportunity to correct and discuss them. The speaker makes an effort, both in preparation and delivery, to avoid errors. A well-motivated interaction is effected.

Besides being productive of incidental learning, extra-school activities are motivating factors and serve to stimulate much interest. In a language questionnaire answered by a number of students in the Swedish language program, these repeatedly stated that the interest created by extra-school activities was an important factor in learning the language.

Conclusion

In attempting an evaluation of the results achieved, one is confronted with the question: What degree of aural-oral proficiency was attained? The answer depends upon the definition of the term *fluency* and the establishment of a measure of fluency.

Frequent tests and a relatively uniform system of scoring served to increase the reliability of the grading of aural-oral tests. The degree of standardization achieved was possible because certain types of errors occurred with considerable frequency, similarity, and recognizability. Comparison of examiners' data immediately after tests disclosed surprising uniformity in

evaluation, especially after the first few weeks of the course.

The Army required that the final ratings be either expert or competent. The expert rating appeared to be an all-or-none affair and was limited by definition. Competent, on the other hand, implied a considerable range. This may have been the Army's intention. It was evident that the men in the lowest group could, undoubtedly, speak intelligibly on non-technical subjects. In order to express more adequately the ability to speak and comprehend the language, final ratings of trainees completing the course were as follows: Expert (12%); near expert (27%); very competent (23%); competent (38%).

Many objective tests were constructed: completion, multiple choice, matching, true-false. However, tests requiring originality on the part of the student, while less objective, were usually preferred. A student's ability to handle a foreign language can best be demonstrated by giving him an opportunity to express himself in an original manner, whether spoken or written.

The ability to read was a direct result of the primary emphasis upon speaking. The two went hand in hand. In order to memorize the phrases, it was necessary to read the textual material. As the course progressed, an increasing number of activities included and required information based upon materials other than the memorized phrases.

Another result of the aural-oral approach was the development of writing ability. This developed faster and more accurately when the students used the conventional spelling from the start. Factors contributing to an early ability to write were dictation, questions prepared in writing by students for use in practicing conversation, writing original conversations and essays, and requiring all answers in written tests to be made in complete sentences.

It is certain that besides meeting the Army's purpose of acquiring the spoken language, the men learned to read and write. Since Sweden was not drawn into the war, the usefulness of the men to the Army in terms of the acquired language was, no doubt, largely incidental. Of the early group, none received assignments requiring the use of the Swedish language. Of the second group, one student was assigned to the Swedish division of the Office of Strategic Services after three months of study. At the end of six months, two men were assigned to the American

Legation in Stockholm. Nearly all trainees in the Swedish language program were assigned to Army Intelligence or Officers' Candidate Schools. The writer has no evidence that any of these assignments provided an opportunity for use of the language. However, many former students reported that the language proved useful and a source of pleasure outside of the line of duty. In the European theatre, several reported that they were able easily to understand Swedish broadcasts. A few subscribed to Swedish language newspapers. In England, France, and Italy, the men visited the Swedish consulates, legations, and clubs. Three men attended Swedish classes at the Sorbonne in Paris. Some corresponded with each other and with the Swedish staff members in the language. Many sought out Swedish-speaking soldiers or civilians with whom they might converse.

Modification of the procedure. The procedure grew out of the work of two completed nine-month courses. Deviations from the original plan took the form of revision of materials and new implementation. In retrospect of the work as a whole, it would seem advisable to make certain modifications and variations in setting up a future program.

While the basic sentences would necessarily have reference to the more common activities of daily living, a broader range of information would be introduced, perhaps as early as the eleventh lesson. Such subject-matter would deal with educational aspects of the country, beginning with the geographical, and later adding social, historical, political, and economic phases. This would broaden the student's language experience and contribute toward more meaningful learning. Basic sentences would appear as conversation, but after the tenth lesson, English sentences probably could be discarded, in order to encourage thinking in the language.

The completely aural-oral beginning would be adjusted to the needs and reaction of the particular group. Orientation to the aural-oral approach and the listening habit can be acquired with little delay before distributing the sentences in the foreign language.

Conclusions as to the effectiveness of the intensive language method. The intensive method was effective because of emphasis

upon individualization. Individualized attention made it possible for each student to progress according to his own ability. Since the groups were flexible and students were shifted from one section to another at discreet intervals, the student was placed in a position to compete with others of approximately the same ability.

The principle of overlearning is fundamental to intensive technique and effective in terms of procedure and goal. Daily repetition with distributed practice is imperative. In an adult group, thirty minutes seems about optimum for unison work. Three or four varied activities during the class period seem more effective than an hour devoted to one procedure. For example, unison work may begin the hour and be followed by dictation, learning groups, and conversation groups. To assure control and the best results, good judgment on the part of the instructor must govern overlearning, the assignment of new work, and the amount of time spent on a given activity. Since the nature of the activity and the difficulty of the material vary significantly, it is unwise to determine time limits in advance. Likewise, the presentation of new material should be determined by the needs and progress of the particular class rather than according to a prescribed schedule.

The two-fold approach. Effective reconciliation of the demonstration hours and the drill sessions is possible in a well-integrated closely-supervised program. The work of the two becomes interwoven to the extent that neither is effective without the other. This complementary condition is created and maintained by the working principle that the needs first manifested in the drill sessions determine the work of the demonstration hours.

The place of aural-oral technique in a liberal educational program. An educational program which aspires to train students to the full command of a language cannot longer afford to delay its emancipation from the Latin tradition. Since the schools of higher education share the responsibility for teaching foreign language skills, the question arises: How rapidly can the skills be taught in order that a foreign-language student may be earlier introduced to the cultural aspects of his language study and to the foreign-language literature in his own field?

Scientific linguistics, based upon the fundamentals of educational psychology has set the pattern. Applied linguistics has demonstrated that intensive study by the aural-oral approach makes possible the achievement of a full command of a foreign language in a relatively short period of time. The argument regarding the cultural nature of the elementary lessons in the aural-oral approach resolves itself to the question of whether fairy stories are preferable to the trivial, but immediately useful, conversational material dealing with daily life.

The student interest, immediately evident when he is able to express himself, proves a great motivating factor in the aural-oral approach. The ability to speak on an elementary level encourages him to increase his knowledge and skill. The subject matter is second in importance to the ultimate and sustained interest produced by the early lessons. However, at an early stage these lessons can be planned to include cultural aspects related to the language and the country.

Suggestions regarding general instructional procedure in the future teaching of a second language.

1. The keynote for successful teaching and efficient learning is individualization. Individualization in the teaching of a second language is possible and highly profitable.
2. All classroom activity should be so planned that it is meaningful to the student. It must be based upon implementation with content which the student desires to make his own. Learning then becomes a meaningful experience to him.
3. Provision should be made for abundant student participation in meaningful activity. A student learns to the extent that he participates in and responds to the activity in progress.
4. The aural-oral method is an economical approach to the study of a second language since it speeds up learning. Implicit in its use is the whole-part-whole technique (i.e., from the complete sentence to the parts, concluding with the complete sentence).
5. Regular and frequent short oral tests are necessary and important parts of instructional procedure; they should function as learning, not testing, devices.

AMERICAN SCANDINAVIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1947

Bibliography Committee: Sverre Arestad, University of Washington (Norwegian); Richard Beck, University of North Dakota (Icelandic); Jens Nyholm, Northwestern University (Danish); Walter Johnson, University of Washington (Swedish), Chairman.

In assembling this bibliography, the committee has proposed to present an annotated list of the noteworthy books, articles, and reviews dealing with the Scandinavian languages and literatures which appeared in the United States during 1947. The bibliography includes primarily items of concern to those who are directly engaged in Scandinavian studies.

The year is listed only when the item is a review of a book published before 1947.

Abbreviations

<i>AIB</i>	<i>Augustana Institute Bulletin</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>American Literature</i>
<i>ASR</i>	<i>American Scandinavian Review</i>
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature and Science</i>
<i>GR</i>	<i>Germanic Review</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLQ</i>	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>SAQ</i>	<i>South Atlantic Quarterly</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Saturday Review of Literature</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scandinavian Studies</i>

GENERAL

I. Bibliographies

1. Craig, Hardin (Editor). "Recent Literature of the Renaissance: A Bibliography," *SP*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 265-452. Germanic-languages section by John G. Kunstmann. See pp. 273-284 (entries 1-116) and pp. 346-381 (entries 841-1209) for references to works on Scandinavia.

2. Hedin, Naboth (Compiler). *Guide to Information about Sweden*. The American Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20. Pp. 64. \$0.25.

A convenient bibliography of articles and books in English about Sweden with directions as to where and how the articles and the books may be obtained.

3. Nordmeyer, Henry W. "Germanic Languages and Literatures," *PMLA*, Vol. LXIS, Part 2, pp. 1301-1314.

Germanic section of the "American Bibliography for 1946." Lists some Scandinavian items.

II. General

4. *Denmark*. Danish Information Service, 15 Moore Street, New York. Pp. 280. Gratis.

A guide to Denmark, its people and culture.

5. Hedin, Naboth. *Main Facts about Sweden*. The American Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20. Pp. 80. \$0.25.

An introduction to Sweden, its people and culture.

6. Jones, Howard Mumford. "If I Were a Scandinavian," *ASR*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, pp. 135-138.

The freedom of their universities and the traditions of their peoples should give the Scandinavian countries a unique opportunity "to restore hope to Europe by enriching science, literature, and art through the free play of the mind in the Scandinavian universities among a truly free people."

7. Murdock, Kenneth Ballard. "Intimations of Scandinavia," *ASR*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, pp. 1-16.

The impressions of the American-Scandinavian Foundation Lecturer on American literature and thought at Uppsala in 1946. Comparisons of Scandinavia with America, and of Scandinavian students and faculties with American.

III. Instruction in Scandinavian

8. Franzen, Gösta, and Bronner, Hedin. "Scandinavian Courses Offered in Institutions of Learning in the United States," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 239-260.

Facts and figures about the history of Scandinavian offerings with an analysis of the present situation together with a map and with tables giving information about present offerings in the various institutions and about teachers of Scandinavian.

LANGUAGE

I. General

9. Matthew, Robert John. *Language and Area Studies in the Armed Services*, American Council on Education, Washington. Pp. xix+211.

A survey of what was accomplished by the armed services' programs, a consideration of current effects of the ASTP experience in colleges and high schools, and a forecast of the possible significance for the future. Contains information about the programs in Norwegian and Swedish.

II. Old Norse

10. Price, H. T. *Foreign Influences on Middle English* (University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, No. 10), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. Pp. 45. \$0.75.

Calls attention, among other things, to "the remarkable parallelism between the use of prepositions and adverbs in Middle English on the one hand and in Old French, Old Norse, and Medieval Latin on the other."

11. Sturtevant, Albert Morey. "Some Irregular Preterite Forms in Old Norse," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 173-180.

A consideration of several weak and strong preterites.

12. Sturtevant, Albert Morey. "Notes on Old Norse Phonology," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 208-216.

A consideration of Old Norse *hv* and Gothic *hw*, the distribution of the suffixes *-il-*:*-ul* in the substantival declension, the development of **ai*, the vowel lengthening before *r*, the shift of *r* to *ð*, the use of the *r*-ending in the nominative singular of substantives of foreign origin, and the loss of final *l* in unaccented syllables.

III. Modern Icelandic

13. Einarsson, Stefán. *Icelandic Grammar, Texts, Glossary*, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1945.

Rev. by Konstantin Reichardt in *GR*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 142-143.

IV. Danish

14. Skautrup, Peter. *Det Danske Sprogs Historie* (Første Bind, Fra Guldhornene til Jyske Lov), Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1944.

Rev. by Einar Haugen in *Language*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 448-453.

V. Norwegian

See also Items 3 and 9.

Grammar

15. Flom, George T. *The Morphology of the Dialect of Aurland* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 29, No. 4), University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1944.

Rev. by Einar Haugen in *Language*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 166-170.

16. Tylden, Per. *Me—vi. Ein studie frå det gamalnorske og mellomnorske brevriket* (Skrifter utg. av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii. II Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 4), Oslo, 1944.

Rev. by Einar Haugen in *JEGP*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 431-434.

Place Names

17. Flom, George T. "On Bi-Part and Tri-Part Place Names

in Flåm Parish, Sogn, Norway," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 159-172.

Basing his discussion on a collection of 2,693 names, the author considers the relation of bi-part names in Sogn to other types, especially tri-part names. He shows how bi-part names have received their forms, and to "what extent adjustment of form actually operates in the tri-part names."

18. Flom, George T. "On the River Names of Aurland Parish, Sogn, Norway," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 8, pp. 285-297.

A consideration of the origins of river, brook, creek, and mountain-side rivulet names with particular reference to the endings.

Textbooks

19. Haugen, Einar. *Spoken Norwegian*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1944.

Rev. by Henning Larsen in *JEGP*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 114-115, and by Hedin Bronner in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 233-236.

20. Marm, Ingvald, and Sommerfelt, Alf. *Teach Yourself Norwegian*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1944.

Rev. by Hedin Bronner in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 187-189.

VI. Swedish

See also Items 3 and 9.

General

21. Rice, Allan Lake, "Why Study Swedish?" *AIB*, No. 20 (September), pp. 4-5.

"Americans sorely need to learn that there are others in this world who are more progressive than they, have, for example . . . lower infant mortality, higher literacy, more refinement per square inch, and, to mention a fact that will catch the American fancy more quickly than some of the others, more telephones per capita than they. We Americans need to be told things like that. If we are to hitch our wagon to a star, why not let that star be Sweden?"

Grammar

22. Elmquist, Axel Louis. "Swedish Expressions Denoting 'A Little' and 'At All,'" *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 225-229.

23. Elmquist, Axel Louis. "Observations on Swedish Grammar: II," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 230-232.

A supplement to the article "'Fullt med,' Meaning 'Many, Much,' and Related Expressions in Swedish," *SS*, Vol. 18, No. 6, pp. 37-40.

24. Elmquist, Axel Louis. "Observations on Swedish Grammar: III," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 8, p. 306.

A supplement to the article "The Superlative of Adjectives with 'Möjlig' in Swedish," *SS*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 83-84.

25. Modéer, Ivar. *Studier över slutartikeln i starka femininer*, Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1946: 2, Uppsala, 1946.
Rev. by Einar Haugen in *Language*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 445-448.

Textbooks

26. Allwood, Martin S., and Wilhelmsen, Inga. *Basic Swedish Word List with English Equivalents, Frequency Grading and a Statistical Analysis*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. Pp. 48. \$0.75.

The pamphlet "is intended as a handy résumé of the dictionary *Svenskt definitionslexikon* by Martin S. Allwood and Kerstin Hane, to be published by the Augustana Book Concern, and also provides a statistical analysis of the listed words."

27. Söderbäck, Martin. *Elementary Spoken Swedish*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. Pp. 68. \$0.60.

A text for beginners to be used with a grammar. Twenty-five lessons about common topics. Model conversations, questions, exercises, notes, and vocabularies.

28. Söderbäck, Martin. *Advanced Spoken Swedish*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. Pp. 166. \$2.00.

A text for fourth-semester college classes in Swedish. Fifteen lessons containing model conversations about topics of general interest, with questions, translation exercises, notes, and composition exercises.

LITERATURE

I. General

See also Item 3.

29. Clark, Barrett H., and Freedley, George (Editors). *A History of Modern Drama*, D. Appleton-Century, New York. Pp. xii+832. \$5.00.

In Chapter I (pp. 1-75), Alrik Gustafson surveys the contributions of Ibsen, Strindberg, and Björnson to modern drama and the development of drama in Scandinavia since Strindberg's time.

30. Hilén, Andrew. *Longfellow and Scandinavia: A Study of the Poet's Relationship with the Northern Languages and Literature*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. Pp. vii+190. \$3.00.

A detailed examination of Longfellow's relationship with the languages and literatures of Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland together with Longfellow's Scandinavian journal (1835), letters written by Longfellow in Scandinavia, and a bibliography of Longfellow's Scandinavian library.

31. Leach, Henry Goddard (Editor). *A Pageant of Old*

Scandinavia, American Scandinavian Foundation, New York and Princeton, N. J., 1946. Pp. xvi+350. \$3.75.

Rev. by Gösta Franzen in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 185-186; Adolph B. Benson in *JEGP*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 213-214; and Stefán Einarsson in *MLN*, Vol. 62 (December), pp. 569-570.

32. *Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century*. First Series and Second Series with Introductions by Alrik Gustafson. American Scandinavian Foundation, New York and Princeton, N. J., 1944.

Rev. by Per Stensland in *GR*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 153-155.

33. Smith, Horatio (Editor). *Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*, Columbia University Press, New York. \$10.00.

Contains survey articles on each of the Scandinavian literatures and biographical sketches of 26 Danish, 20 Icelandic, 38 Norwegian, and 60 Swedish writers.

Rev. by Robert Pick in *SRL*, March 29, pp. 14-15.

34. Widen, Albin. "Scandinavian Folklore and Immigrant Ballads," *BAI*, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 2-44.

Pays particular attention to the Swedish and the Norwegian.

II. Old Norse

See also Items 1, 3, 30, 31, 42, and 43.

35. Allen, Ralph B. "The Viking Code," *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 243-244.

A brief discussion of the Viking code with pertinent translated passages from its primary source, *Orvar-Odds Saga*.

36. Hollander, Lee M. "Comments on *Lokasenna* 5, 3; 24, 2; and *Sktrnismql* 27, 3," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 8, pp. 298-305.

37. Hollander, Lee M. "Is the Skaldic Stanza a Unit?" *GR*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 298-319.

The author concludes, "All we can say is that even in the earliest examples of skaldship the conception of stanzaic unity is present: the very frequency of such 'unorganic' conjunctions as *ðör*, *þas*, *þars* suggest that synthetic coherence was felt to be desirable. It appears, furthermore, that this conception continued in the following centuries, without any noticeable trend, whether to closer or looser bonding of the helmings."

38. Hollander, Lee M. *The Skalds: A Selection of Their Poems*, American Scandinavian Foundation, New York and Princeton, N. J., 1945.

Rev. by Caroline Brady in *MLQ*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 133-134.

39. Litzenberg, Karl. *The Victorians and the Vikings: A Bibliographical Essay on Anglo-Norse Literary Relations* (University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, No. 3), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. Pp. 27. \$0.50.

A survey of Anglo-Norse literary relations and the investigations already made with the purpose of demonstrating that "the complete history of Anglo-Norse literary relations in the nineteenth century—after Scott—needs to be written."

40. Nordal, Sigurður. *Íslensk Menning*, Fyrsti bindi. "Mál og menning," Reykjavík, 1942. Pp. 360.

Rev. by Richard Beck in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 182-185.

- 41-42. *The Saga of Thorgils and Hafliði (Þorgils saga ok Hafliða)*. *Islandica*, Vol. XXXI. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Halldór Hermannsson. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1945. Pp. xxx+56.

Rev. by Richard Beck in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 181-182.

III. Discovery of America

43. Holand, Hjalmar R. *America: 1355-1364, A New Chapter in Pre-Columbian History*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1946. Pp. 26+256. \$4.00.

Rev. by Konstantin Reichardt in *Minnesota History*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 58-60, and by Joseph Alexis in *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 186-187.

44. *Great Adventures and Explorations*. Edited, with an introduction and comments, by Vilhjálmur Stefánsson with the collaboration of Olive Rathbun Wilcox. Dial Press, New York. Includes scores of pages on Scandinavia and on Scandinavian explorers, both early and modern.

IV. Danish

See also Items 4, 29, 30, 32, and 33.

Søren Kierkegaard

45. Bretall, Robert (Editor). *A Kierkegaard Anthology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1946.

Rev. by Paul Holmer in *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 272-274, and by John E. Smith in *GR*, Vol. XXII (October), pp. 233-238.

46. Kierkegaard, Søren. *Attack upon Christendom*. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1944.

Rev. by John E. Smith in *GR*, Vol. XXII (October), pp. 233-238.

47. Kierkegaard, Søren. *The Concept of Dread*. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1944.

Rev. by John E. Smith in *GR*, Vol. XXII (October), pp. 233-238.

48. Kierkegaard, Søren. *Edifying Discourses*. Translated by David F. and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., 1943-1946.

Rev. by Paul L. Holmer in *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 272-274.

49. Attwater, Donald (Editor). *Modern Christian Revolutionaries; An Introduction to the Lives and Thought of Kierkegaard, Eric Gill, G. K. Chesterton, C. F. Andrews [and] Berdyaev*, Devin-Adair Co., New York. Pp. xiii+390. \$4.00.

50. Kierkegaard, Søren. *Works of Love*. Translated by David F. and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1946.

Rev. by John E. Smith in *GR*, Vol. XXII (October), pp. 233-238.

51. Johnson, Howard A. "Kierkegaard and Sartre," *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 220-225.

Comparing Kierkegaard and Sartre, Johnson concludes, "Sartre is Kierkegaard without God."

52. Kean, Charles Duell. *The Meaning of Existence*, Harper, New York. Pp. xiv+222. \$3.00.

A philosophical basis for modern Christianity based on "Kierkegaard's existentialism."

Poetry

53. Stork, Charles Wharton (Translator). *A Second Book of Danish Verse*, American Scandinavian Foundation, New York and Princeton, N. J. Pp. xvii+155. \$2.50.

Foreword by Johannes V. Jensen. Danish poems of the last three centuries.

Theater

54. Neuendam, Robert. "Theatre under Occupation," *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 122-134.

The activities of the Danish theaters during the Nazi occupation.

Underground

55. Nyholm, Jens. "Danish Underground Publications," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 261-269.

V. Norwegian

See also Items 3, 29, 32, 33, and 34.

Henrik Ibsen

See also Items 3, 29, and 33.

56. Downs, Brian W. *Ibsen: The Intellectual Background*, Macmillan, New York, 1946.

Rev. in *ASR*, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 182, and by Hermann J. Weigand in *JEGP*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 440-441.

57. Irvine, William. "Shaw's Quintessence of Ibsenism," *SAQ*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 252-262.

An essay on the literary and intellectual relationships between Ibsen and Shaw that are revealed through a study of Shaw's work on Ibsen. Shaw learned from Ibsen: a religion of the Life Force; an attitude toward "ideals"; realism in character, plot, and dialogue; and a method of exploring and explaining ideas in terms of dramatic situations. By adding to what he learned from Ibsen "more wit, more rhetoric, more ideas, a more formally symmetrical scene structure, and a technique which seeks a point of vantage from which to pour irony and satire on the audience," we have Shaw.

58. MacLeod, Vivienne Koch. "The Influence of Ibsen on Joyce: Addendum." *PMLA*, Vol. LXII, No. 2, pp. 573-580.

This note supplements an earlier article by the same author, "The Influence of Ibsen on Joyce," *PMLA*, Vol. LX, No. 3, pp. 879-898. Through an analysis of the references to Ibsen and his works in Joyce's *Stephen Hero* (*New Directions*, New York, 1944), the author provides additional evidence of Ibsen's influence on Joyce's development as man and artist.

59. Nethercot, Arthur H. "The Quintessence of Idealism; or The Slaves of Duty," *PMLA*, Vol. LXII, No. 3, pp. 844-859.

The author discusses the evolution of the idea of woman's emancipation from the dramas of Ibsen, where the concept of duty as applied to women was first clearly stated in dramatic form, through English drama from Shaw to the present. The author points out that complete emancipation, in which woman turns the tables on man and makes him a slave to duty, has now been expressed in dramatic form, thus bringing to its logical conclusion an idea suggested by Ibsen but neither fully discussed nor completely understood by him.

60. Quinn, Arthur Hobson. "Ibsen and Herne—Theory and Facts," *AL*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 171-177.

A reply to Dorothy S. Bucks and Arthur H. Nethercot's "Ibsen and Herne's Margaret Fleming," an article which appeared in *AL* (January 1946). Professor Quinn asserts that *Margaret Fleming* is not an imitation of *A Doll's House*.

61. Bucks, Dorothy S., and Nethercot, Arthur H. "A Reply to Professor Quinn," *AL*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 177-180.

VI. Swedish

See also Items 3, 5, 29, 30, 32, 33, and 34.

Birgitta

62. Redpath, Sister Helen M.D. *God's Ambassadress: St. Bridget of Sweden*, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis. Pp. xv+216. \$3.00.

A biography by a Bridgettine of Syon Abbey, England.

Esaias Tegnér

63. Sturtevant, Albert Morey. "An Analysis of Certain Metaphors in Tegnér's Poetry," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 270-277. Tegnér's metaphor of the temple and his metaphor of the sun in "Svenskan" were so deep-seated in his consciousness that he could not refrain from repeating them in varied forms.

August Strindberg

See also Items 3, 29, and 33.

64. Dahlström, Carl E. W. L. "The Parisian Reception of Strindberg's Plays," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 195-207.

A correction of the common notion that Strindberg broke "Ibsen's records in the performance of dramas, the publication of dramas, or in the response of audiences and dramatic critics. . . . The fact remains that he stirred Paris but little, far less than did that other great Scandinavian dramatist, Henrik Ibsen."

FOLKLORE

65. Birkeli, Emil. *Huskult og Hinsidighetstro. Nye Studier over Fedrekult i Norge* (Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, II), Oslo, 1944.

Rev. by Lee M. Hollander in *JEGP*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 211-213.

66. Krappe, Alexander H. "The Delusions of Master Perus," *SS*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 217-224.

67. Krappe, Alexander H. "The Glass Mountain," *MLQ*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 139-145.

Considers various Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian folk tales in which the motive of the glass mountain is used.

68. Krappe, Alexander H. "The Wolf and the Nightingale," *GR*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 83-89.

Shows that "The Wolf and the Nightingale" is a piece of Scandinavian folklore and explains how this tale of the cruel stepmother got into German tradition and was published as "Der Wolf und die Nachtigall" in Ernst Moritz Arndt's *Märchen und Jugenderinnerungen*, Berlin, 1818.

REVIEWS

Ohlmarks, Åke. *Gravskippet*. Hugo Gebers Förlag, Stockholm and Lund, 1946. Pp. 236. Two maps.

Författaren ger i detta arbete en översikt över förekomsten av dels stensättningar i skeppsform och dels gravsättning i verkliga skepp eller båtar i Nordeuropa. Ur fyndstatistik och grävningsberättelser har han sammanställt det viktigaste arkeologiska materialet till belysningen av dessa typer av gravskick, deras utstyr, geografiska utbredning och datering. Framställningen visar, att troligen de flesta skeppssättningarna är gravar och att denna gravform varit i bruk ända från bronsåldern (t. ex. Lugnaro-högen i Halland) fram till slutet av vikingatiden. Tidigast tyckes den ha uppträtt på Gotland. Dessa sättningars storlek varierar från en längd av 4–5 m. upp till 67 m. hos den jättelika skeppssättningen vid Kåseberga i Skåne. Talrikast uppträda de i östra Skandinavien med omkring 200 st. på Gotland, 300 tillsammans i Uppland och Södermanland samt med några tiotal i övriga sydöstsvenska landskap. I Danmark uppvisar Bornholm ett femtiotal och hela det övriga landet ungefär lika många. Övriga nordiska länder ha något tiotal var, Balticum och Nordtyskland likaså.

Skeppsgravar med brända eller obrända farkoster är däremot kända endast från folkvandringstiden till fram emot vikingatidens slut. Geografiskt är de också främst begränsade till Mälardalskapen samt till Oslotrakten och Västlandet i Norge. I övriga nordiska länder ha endast ett fåtal anträffats; sedan har dessutom spritts till de brittiska öarna, Bretagne och Island. Flera av de gravar, som innehållit obrända båtar, ha haft en mycket rik gravutstyr, t. ex. de svenska från Vendel, Valsgärde och Ultuna i Uppland och de norska från Gokstad och Oseberg samt den engelska från Sutton Hoo. Ohlmarks framhåller, att detta stora material rörande gravformernas historia, utbredning och syfte bör ha ett stort religionshistoriskt värde för förståelsen av den tro, som legat bakom formerna i fråga.

Det är emellertid mycket vanskligt och osäkert att bygga säkra tolkningar enbart på fornfynden, och Ohlmarks har därför även gjort en sammanställning av kända litterära källors uppgifter om dessa gravsättningsformer från germansk forntid.

De avtryckas här från originalkällorna, tyvärr dock i en form, som inte går fri från anmärkningar mot bristande filologisk akribi. Detta gäller både om citat från fornord. och forneng. källor. Att t. ex. isländskans accenter utsatts synnerligen inkorrekt betyder därvid mindre. Svårare äro däremot sådana oriktigheter som t. ex. Beowulfcitaten s. 141 *secgan tō sōðe lelerādende* i st. f. *selerādende* (trots rimmet!) och s. 147 *frum-scealhe* i st. f. *frumsceaſtel*. Även de nord. texterna, som Ohlmarks borde behärska bättre, ha t. ex. fel som s. 142 *með qllu reiðr* i st. f. *reiði* och s. 184 *ok setr bar niðr steininn* i st. f. *par niðr*.

Vid tolkningen av den religionshistoriska innehördens i dessa begravningsformer, som Ohlmarks ser som ett sammanhängande komplex, ansluter han sig till den redan av O. Montelius 1885 framlagda teori om att farkosten tänkts vara nödvändig för den dödes färd till själarnas land, som senare fått anslutning också av K. Stjerna (1905) och H. Shetelig (1917) m. fl. Han anser nu, att också skeppssättningarna alltsedan bronsåldern vidarefört denna tanke, vilken av honom utbygges med en teori om identitet mellan föreställningen om solens båt och dödsbåten-gravskippet, som han också tror sig återfinna i bronsålderns skeppsristningar. Som Stjerna stöder han sin uppfattning på jämförande religionshistoriskt material, hämtad från så vitt skilda orter och tider som New Zealand och Borneo, fördynastisk egyptisk konst och fornsemitisk eposdiktning (Gilgamesch-sagan). Irisk saga (Connla och guldhåret) och fornengelsk-nordisk diktning (Scyld sceafing) få komma med på köpet. Det är ju möjligt, att Ohlmarks och andra, som dela hans uppfattning, kunna ha rätt, när de vilja finna denna föreställning om solbåten-dödsbåten som ett konstitutivt drag i högre faderrättsliga kulturer, men de av honom anförda nordiska källorna synas ge föga stöd åt teorien. Och även sammanhanget mellan skeppssättningarna och folkvandringstidens båtbegravningar kan diskuteras. Förf. söker ivrigt motbevisa S. Lindquists och andras uppfattning av att man förröd föreställt sig, att den döde bodde i sitt hög- eller grävsatta skepp, eller att båten kunde jämställas med övrigt gravtillbehör som hästar, vagnar o. s. v., vilket gavs med åt den döde för att fylla hans behov av transportmedel i de dödas värld. Föreställningar om de

döda själarnas färd över havet till ett fjärran dödsrike synes inte vara möjlig att belägga på fornnord. botten. Och faktiska skäl synas dessutom föreligga för att folkvandringstidens nordiska båtgravar direkt kunna sammanhänga med tidigare kammargravar. Sådana gravar med "träkammare" ha under senare år utgrävts bl. a. vid Fullerö (i Gamla Uppsala, 1934), daterade till 400-talet (Se G. Arwidsson, i *Tor*, 1948, s. 41 ff.), och vid själva Valsgärde utgrävdes 1946–47 en liknande kammargrav (Valsgärde 20), som kan tolkas som en direkt äldre föregångare till de senare båtgravarna på samma plats (Se A. M. Tjernberg, a. a. s. 49 ff.). Då man således nästan påtagligt har båtgravarnas omedelbara föregångare framför sig, torde det vara svårt att fasthålla vid det obrutna sambandet mellan båtgravarna och skeppssättningarna, hur frestande en sådan sammanställning än må vara. Också till det ytter mycket likartade ting kunna gå ut från högst olikartade begynneler.

MANNE ERIKSSON

Landsmåls- och folkminnesarkivet

UPPSALA

Ekhämmar, Hugo. *Det forntida Östersverige och svenskdomen*.
Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1944. Pp. 427+two maps.
Price, 12 crowns (paper covers).

This work has evidently been inspired by a very commendable pride in racial origin and ancestry and by an almost pathetically fervent desire to defend, justify, and even glorify the existence and achievements of that remarkable eastern fragment of the Swedish people which for many centuries has preserved its racial and cultural traditions in an often hostile environment and which has imparted to an alien race the fairest fruits of Scandinavian culture.

Unfortunately the fervent emotional identification of the author with his subject has not infrequently interfered with the soundness of his scholarship and precluded scientific objectivity. Now and then it brings his book, notwithstanding its many and unquestionable merits, perilously near the category to which Olof Rudbeck's *Atland eller Manhem* belongs, a work which Dr. Ekhämmar evidently admires very much:

Hans stora verk av skarsinne och lysande inbillningskraft, *Atland* eller *Manhem*, lästes och anammades med tro och härförelse av hans samtid. Senare kommo tider med tvivel och löje. Man gapade på alla de små orimligheterna i gamle Rudbecks stora bok. Vetenskapen hade inte heller givit honom någon fast mark att resa sina tankars väldiga bygge på (p. 73).

This characterization of Rudbeck's book can to a certain extent be applied to Ekhammar's. It is a work of considerable scientific acumen which unfortunately is sometimes misled by a brilliant, almost Rudbeckian, imagination to unwarrantable conclusions. The fact that the author designates the numerous towering absurdities in Rudbeck's *Atland* as "små orimligheter" unfavorably affects our faith in his judgment. The author has unfortunately a disconcerting habit of forgetting that certain statements have originally been advanced as mere suppositions, or even guesses, and of later building upon them as if they were established facts.

The conclusions of the author, whether acceptable or not, are, however, generally based on genuine scholarly research and on an amazingly comprehensive knowledge of the subject. Although we realize that he often exaggerates the influence of the Swedish people upon the historical development of the European continent during the earlier periods, as, for instance, during the Bronze Age, the Period of Migrations, and the Viking Age, nevertheless we feel grateful to him for the bewitching light that he throws upon the adventurous saga of our ancient ancestors. We may not with the author believe that tribes of Swedish origin at one time dominated practically all of Europe, or that their culture was not inferior to that of the early Greeks and Romans, or that the connection between the Goths and the people of Sweden was as close after seven hundred years of separation as he seems to think, but we come to realize more keenly than ever before how important this Swedish influence during the ages must have been.

Because of the wealth of details and an often unnecessary, and sometimes wearisome, repetition of statements and theories the book is marred by a certain formlessness. It would have gained in literary value by a condensation of the general matter relating to the whole Swedish people and by a concentration of attention upon the destinies of "Östersverige." Here the author

moves on much firmer ground, and we do not hesitate to accept his conclusions regarding the beginning of the Swedish settlement in Finland, which he places before the beginning of the Christian era and long before the Finnish settlement. This fact repudiates the assumption that Finland is primarily a Finnish country, an assumption which according to the author is used to justify a nefarious attempt to deprive a culturally most important fragment of the people of its right to its language and its traditions. The author also succeeds in convincing us of the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of the Swedish civilizing influence with reference to the Finnish people although he undoubtedly exaggerates the cultural primitiveness of the Finns at the time of the earliest contact.

Among the most interesting matters for the readers of this journal is Ekhämmer's detailed and convincing treatment of (1) the Finnish mania of changing, distorting, or translating ancient Swedish names of places that antedate any Finnish settlement, and of (2) the approximately five thousand Swedish loan words in Finnish. The loan words bear testimony to the Swedish cultural influence; among them are the names of objects in the home, articles of clothing, all the metals with the possible exception of bronze and silver, agricultural implements and crops, tools, professions, things and activities that give grace and elegance and enjoyment to life, and matters pertaining to religious and spiritual life.

Much more could be said both in criticism and in praise of this interesting and inspiring book.

EDWIN J. VICKNER
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Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen. Reviderad av Ernst A. Kock. Första bandet. Gleerup, Lund, 1948. Pp. 344.

The great body of several thousand stanzas of skaldic poetry known to us is preserved in various and numerous manuscripts of the historical and family sagas of Iceland. There they serve as corroborative and illustrative material. It would seem an easy task to gather together all of it between the covers of a volume. Actually, that is a gigantic task because it involves the sifting,

evaluation, and interpretation of so many manuscripts. Guðbrandur Vigfússon was the first to attempt it, in a fashion, in the two volumes of his *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (1883). Though a monument of erudition, this work can be used only with the utmost caution. It was followed, on a more modest scale, by Theodor Wisén's *Carmina Norræna* (1886). Both collections admittedly were provisional and are now hopelessly outdated. The plan was next taken up by Finnur Jónsson in the four bulky volumes of *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning* (1912–1915). Finnur Jónsson certainly was the man for the Herculean task insofar as intimate knowledge of the whole field of Scandinavian philology, beaver-like industry, and driving energy are concerned. But unfortunately these qualities were combined with a precipitate evaluation of manuscripts, hastiness in editing, obstinate adherence to opinions once formed, and—alas!—a great lack of stylistic feeling and imagination. As a consequence this magnificently planned opus is replete with gross inaccuracies and arbitrary and violent emendations to such an extent that the original text frequently disappears altogether.

The very serious faults of Jónsson's work soon became apparent and, in fact, caused it to be made a football by some scholars. These faults were fastened on especially by the Swedish scholar Ernst A. Kock, who centered his life work on skaldic poetry. On the positive side he urged the comparison of the poetic remains of the related Old Germanic dialects, to shed light on the etymons, phraseology, and syntax of skaldic poetry. Negatively, and by far more fruitfully, he insisted (against native Icelandic scholarship) on there being certain limitations to the supposed topsy-turvydom of word disposition in the *dróttkvætt* family of stanzas. Thirdly, in consonance with recent scholarship, he called a halt on the rampant and reckless inclination to emend, which is so tempting especially in this difficult field. By the application of these principles, to be sure with steadily diminishing returns, he effected a veritable revolution in skaldic study. His work was published in several thousand paragraphs (frequently disfigured by personalities) scattered through some twenty unwieldy volumes of *Lunds universitets drässkrift* (1923–1941). An urgently needed register of this *rudis indigestaque molis* appeared in 1944.

The present work is a curious performance. As the title indicates, it exactly reproduces the body of skaldic poetry from Bragi to the end of the twelfth century in the general arrangement, the chronological sequence of the skalds, and the order of their stanzas (but without the really indispensable prose interpretation) according to the circumspect arrangement of the (B) volume I of Jónsson's opus. The only difference is that it is Kock who pontificates here with papal authority and intolerance, instead of Jónsson! Worse: while the latter (in the A volumes) gave the manuscript variants with scholarly scrupulousness, Kock gives none whatever. Divergent opinions and valuable contributions of other scholars—even of those who saw eye to eye with him—are consistently ignored. Thus, presto, it was not so difficult to achieve the author's purpose to furnish *ett förfärligt, läsbart studieunderlag*—i.e., a new Vulgate! To sum up: we have here a text based on Kock's many and notable contributions, but in no sense an edition which will allow scholars to form their own opinions. If, however, the appeal were to such who wish practice in reading skaldic poetry, then a varied selection of the best, in the manner of Meissner's exemplary *Skaldisches Lesebuch* (1931), would have been far more appropriate—and vastly more saving of money and good paper.

LEE M. HOLLANDER
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Lindén, Bror. *Dalska namn- och ordstudier I: 1* (= *Svenska Landsmål* 1947, bilaga). Uppsala, 1947. Pp. 170+one map.
Price, 8 crowns.

This work, which was published as a dissertation for the degree of Ph.D., consists of a collection of articles about place names and dialect words from the province of Dalecarlia in Sweden. In the Preface the author mentions that this volume will be followed by a series of studies on Dalecarlian place names and related problems. Dr. Lindén, who for about fifteen years has done research in this field and collected material from his home province for The Swedish Place-Name Archives and The Archives for Dialect and Folklore at Uppsala, should be well qualified for the work he has outlined.

The articles in the present volume are very heterogeneous as

to subject, and of varying interest. The first one is devoted to a rather mysterious dialect word *glyx*, which is used as a name of a being in Dalecarlian folklore. The word is interpreted as a term for smoke and derived from a verb *glyxa*, *glyfса* 'to thrust up, to cough slightly.' In another article the village name *Vättnäs* is discussed, and explained as containing an OSw. **vælir* or **væljar* (related to the stem in *vallen*) 'water dwellers.' Several articles are of interest as local history. In *Jämtmotåsen och Jämtmot*, for example, the location of an old meeting place and trading center is convincingly demonstrated. The longest article is devoted to a discussion of Dalecarlian place names containing the suffix *-sta(d)*, meaning either 'dwelling' or 'shore, landing-place.' The former meaning is the common one in names from southern and central parts of Sweden, whereas the latter meaning is often found in Dalecarlia. The material gathered by Lindén is valuable, but the treatment does not give evidence of that scholarly standard which a dissertation is supposed to show. Among the works consulted by Lindén is my survey of the Swedish place names, published in *Nordisk Kultur V*; it is evident from his discussion of my place-name maps that he has neglected to read what was there stated about the purpose of the maps and about the principles that had been followed.

GÖSTA FRANZEN
University of Chicago

Thesen, Rolv. *Ein diktar og hans strid: Arne Garborgs liv og skrifter*. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1945. Pp. 350. Bibliography. Map of a part of Jæren. Illustrations.

The critics unreservedly praised Dr. Rolv Thesen's three-volume biography of Garborg when it appeared. Professor Francis Bull, for example, characterized it as "et storverk innenfor vår biografiske litteratur," and Professor A. H. Winsnes called it "den mest inntrykkende og omfattende dikterbiografi som vår litteratur eier." To meet the wish of those who wanted a shorter treatment of Garborg, a sort of *folkebok*, Dr. Thesen reduced his three-volume biography to a single volume. It is this which I am reviewing.

Dr. Thesen displays eminent skill as a biographer. In this

comparatively short work he makes clear the interrelationships of scores of authors, thinkers, and politicians, and numerous literary, economic, political, social, and religious movements and tendencies and explains how these impinge upon the central figure, Garborg. Garborg emerges as a man who experienced a painful progression through several different ideologies, to find relative peace of mind in his later years in a sort of personalized, individualized Christian ethics. The real drama of Garborg's life came during his youth and middle age. Blessed or cursed with what Dr. Thesen terms perhaps the best analytical mind, supported by imagination and intuition, that Norway has produced, Garborg was destined to share, as did Strindberg and Kierkegaard, in the suffering of those who see truth most clearly, who realize most fully the brutality of life, all the while increasing their own suffering because of their deep and abiding compassion for their fellow men.

During Arne Garborg's youth the age-old rural tradition in Norway which was characterized by a consciousness on the part of the people that the farm was a family possession, the real value of which was that it could be worked in common and that it could be transferred from generation to generation, being thus an individualistic enterprise, was undergoing a revolutionary change. Agriculture was being industrialized, and investment capital was making inroads upon the family ownership. The personal and the individual features of rural existence were thus being uprooted. Dr. Thesen demonstrates how Arne Garborg fell a victim to this change, for he was caught between the old tradition, doomed to extinction, and the new tradition, struggling to be born. When we add to this the monstrously pessimistic religious movement, fathered by Erik Pontoppidan, which swept Jæren during Garborg's adolescence, we get an explanation of the inconsistencies that beset young Garborg on every hand. These inconsistencies became the imponderables of Garborg's mature life, and they contributed in turn to his lifelong attempt to search for permanence in things—Garborg never did fathom the only acceptable view: the only permanent thing is change. Another factor, a feeling of guilt due to his breaking with the tradition of his father by following an intellectual pursuit (Gar-

borg felt that this course of action was an important factor in his father's suicide), contributed not a little to Garborg's intellectual development and literary production.

With these two basic concepts in view, Dr. Thesen pursues Garborg's life from adolescence to old age. He shows how Garborg accepted romanticism upon his break with the tradition into which he was born, and when this view of life became untenable for him, how he turned away from it, showing it to be an utterly ridiculous pursuit. After romanticism he passed successively through realism and naturalism, to end his days in relative peace within the framework of his own concept of a Christian ethics.

Garborg was not only concerned with purely literary movements, but he also made notable contributions to the language problem, doing more than any other of his contemporaries to make *Landsmaal* a permanent language. He likewise added notably to the Norwegians' understanding of their political and national destinies. When Garborg had arrived, at the age of 27, at a profound understanding of his own urban culture, he turned his eyes toward Europe, particularly Germany, and aided substantially in making the Norwegians conscious of the changing aspects of modern life outside their borders. After his European period, Garborg returned in humiliation and with a sense of duty to a study of the rural tradition in Norway. To an elucidation of this tradition he contributed perhaps more than any other Norwegian, and it was this that made him great and endeared him to his people.

Garborg is, in a sense, peculiar among writers in that his best works, *Bondestudentar*, *Trætte Mænd*, *Fred*, *Haugtussa*, *Læraren*, and *Den burtkomme Faderen*, were produced in crisis or as result of crisis. His works therefore lack the aesthetic qualities that derive from the creative imagination, but they were timely, and the best of them, although they may lack universal appeal, nevertheless possess timeless qualities for the Norwegian people. Garborg lacked the objectivity of Ibsen, but he combined the warmth of Bjørnson, the intensity of Strindberg, and the analytical qualities of Kierkegaard. The Norwegians were at first reluctant to accept Garborg, but when they finally appreciated his

deep sincerity, his warmth, and his intensity, they took him to their bosom. Arne Garborg's life of struggle consisted in his finding what he considered to be the answer to his search for himself and his countrymen and then in convincing his people that he had found it.

The real pleasure in reading Dr. Thesen's Garborg biography results from the author's ability to give the reader a bird's-eye view of a whole period, with ideas and currents and forces marshalled with amazing skill, and with people being fitted to the ideas and currents and buffeted by the forces. He does this in the perspective of learning and reflection, and he combines with it an abiding compassion for the sufferings and the anguish of those who sink low in despair; he is elated when they rise high in their occasional triumph over adversity. The ability to feel with his fellow men and to analyze their many forays into divergent ideologies in an attempt to wrest from their Age the meaning of their lives and of those of their fellow beings marks Dr. Thesen's consummate skill as a biographer. He feeds on his subject matter. This becomes apparent as the biography progresses, for there is somewhat of a declining interest from beginning to end. The reader notes that, as Garborg's life of struggle becomes more personal—the arenas of politics, language polemics, economics, emancipation, etc. have been forsaken—and the crises are no longer recurrent, the biography becomes less exciting in its movement. This certainly is no criticism of Dr. Thesen's work, but simply an indication of how he is affected by the immediacy of the struggle of his subject.

There are but four matters that I wish to comment briefly upon.

Dr. Thesen somehow neglects Hulda Garborg. He states what significance she had for Garborg's production, but nowhere does he indicate what qualities of mind she possessed which were of value to him. This obviously is only an omission, for Dr. Thesen could have done just that in the space of a short paragraph.

It seems to me that the author makes too much of the "guilt complex" in Garborg's life, and he does not clearly place the responsibility for the father's suicide. He leaves the impression

that Arne Garborg thought of his "revolt" as a larger factor in the suicide than were the religious views of Pontoppidan, which possessed the father almost as an evil force. Some clear-cut indication of how much the son's defection contributed and how much the religious views contributed to the father's tragedy ought to have been presented.

I feel that Dr. Thesen, in spite of his consistent objectivity, gives Garborg the benefit of the doubt in the latter's criticism of Ibsen in the 1870's. Garborg's early interpretation of Ibsen resulted in an influence upon the younger man which for a time markedly colored his view of life. The reader is left with the impression that Garborg's interpretation of Ibsen was correct (see especially p. 89); later evaluations of Ibsen have made Garborg's estimate of him untenable.

Finally, Dr. Thesen mentions only Scandinavia and Germany when he discusses Garborg's reception abroad, although he on occasion refers to "mange andre land" (see, for example, p. 197). Some documentation of Garborg's reception in countries other than Scandinavia and Germany might well have been included.

These are perhaps small matters to comment on in such an admirable book.

SVERRE ARESTAD
University of Washington

Levertin, Anna. *Den unge Levertin. Minnen och brev.* P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, Stockholm, 1947. Pp. 204. Price, 11 crowns.

It is a rather strange coincidence that, at a time when current Swedish literature has a "hard-boiled" trend, a number of romanticists from the 1890's—Selma Lagerlöf, Verner von Heidenstam, and Oscar Levertin—have happened to gain special interest among literary scholars. In 1944, Fredrik Böök's book on Levertin appeared; in 1945, Carl Fehrman's thesis about Levertin's lyrics came out; in 1946, Albert Bonnier published a new edition of Levertin's poems; finally, last year, there appeared another work by Fehrman and the above-mentioned book by Oscar Levertin's sister.

As a young man, Levertin had to stay abroad for long periods

because of illness, and from various resorts he wrote a large number of letters to the members of his family, especially to his father. These letters are, as a rule, no literary masterpieces and, in that respect, they contrast sharply with his novels and critical writings; the letters consist mostly of reports about his varying state of health and his correspondingly changing state of mind. They do not reveal anything sensational or essentially new about him, but with their innumerable small details they do help to make more complete our knowledge about his development during some important periods of his life.

Anna Levertin is eager to point out that the impressions from his home had a decisive influence on him, a fact that also is evidenced by his early letters. A remarkable document is a long letter which he wrote at the age of twenty to his younger brother at the time of the latter's confirmation. There he expresses his own viewpoints on religious matters and deplores the fact that his conscience forces him to be an atheist. Interesting to notice is his severe criticism of the intolerant attitude towards Christianity which was common among his Jewish kinsmen. Levertin's own attitude had probably at that time been influenced by the fact that he had met a young woman of non-Jewish birth who later became his wife. Among the most charming things in the collection are the gay letters written from his Uppsala home to his relatives in Stockholm during his first marriage, which ended after little more than a year with the tragic death of his wife. They show a Levertin who is very different from the melancholy pessimist of later years.

During his stay at the sanatorium in Davos, 1889–1890, he and Verner von Heidenstam met daily for several months, and a result of this contact was his decision to break with the naturalists. In a letter to his father he says: "Heidenstam och jag ha skrifvit ihop en liten uppsats der vi skoja med en hel del af den gamla realistiska smörjan." "Den lilla uppsatsen" was the important pamphlet *Pepitas bröllop*. In another letter, written a few months later, he calls it "ett oskyldigt skämt, som ej kan såra någon." His naturalistic friends, however, looked at the matter differently, and, as his sister observes: "Han hade tydlig uppe på sin bergstopp glömt förhållandena i Stockholm

och att vännerna i Det unga Sverige icke kunde utan vidare godtaga hans nya inställning till den litterära riktning för vilken de samman kämpat."

Brief notes after each letter and excellent photographs add to the value of the book.

GÖSTA FRANZEN
University of Chicago

Bergman, Gösta. *A Short History of the Swedish Language*. The Swedish Institute for Foreign Relations, Stockholm, 1947. Pp. 106. Price, 3.50 crowns.

As Senior Master of Swedish and Lecturer in Swedish at the University of Stockholm, secretary for *Nämnden för svensk språkvård*, a productive scholar in the field of the Swedish language, and a highly competent teacher, Gösta Bergman is particularly well prepared for writing a book of this kind. Before publication, the manuscript was, moreover, critically examined by Professor Gösta Franzen and by Professors Helge Kökeritz and Francis P. Magoun, Jr., the two men who translated it into excellent English.

The book deals with Common Norse, Old Swedish contrasted with Modern Swedish, orthography, pronunciation, inflection, word-formation, changes in the vocabulary, standards of usage, dialects, personal and family names, and place names. Its value as material of instruction is enhanced by a select bibliography, a glossary of Swedish words cited in the text, and especially by illustrations, facsimiles, and instructive maps.

According to the Foreword, the book is "essentially intended for use in connection with elementary instruction in Swedish in colleges and universities of the English-speaking world." It meets the need exceedingly well. The work is an excellent introduction to the study of the Swedish language and culture. As such it should contain no errors, and there are none. The author has rightfully refrained from mentioning or discussing difficult and unsolved problems. He gives attention almost exclusively to accepted facts, which he states in a style worthy of imitation. When opinions on a given phenomenon differ, he records the fact. Very occasionally the description is too one-sided; for

example, the author says (p. 33): "Under German influence *ch* was written for *k*, e.g., *iach* (*jag*), *och*, *macht* (*makt*)."¹ It is possible that some of these words were pronounced with a fricative sound as in German, whence in part they come. In that case, *ch* is quite natural.

Of special significance for the growth of the Scandinavian languages were some changes which came about before and during the Viking Age, such as mutation, breaking, and syncope, shared by all Germanic languages now spoken. To this important period the author gives a space of only one page and a half. It would have been of great value for university instruction if he had given more ample treatment to these momentous phenomena. He might also have taken advantage of the occasion for acquainting the non-Scandinavian world, where Kock's theories still prevail, with the new theories about mutation and breaking that have emerged during the last few years. To be sure, these fundamental problems have not yet been solved—they will probably never be solved—but the author could have used the convenient opportunity to announce that Axel Kock's theory of different periods of mutation and breaking has now been abandoned; to suggest that mutation was caused not by the disappearance of an unstressed vowel, but by a sharply articulated one; and that breaking perhaps represents simply a diphthongization which has occurred without any stimulus of a following vowel. The history of the Scandinavian languages should no longer be taught on the basis of Axel Kock's theories, though the author does not mention these either.

The reviewer notes that the historical, social, and cultural backgrounds of philological phenomena are always thoroughly observed. Bergman looks upon language as a sociological element in human life. This outlook gives greater depth and breadth to his description than are usually apparent in textbooks of this kind.

Bergman's book will certainly meet requirements as a textbook in English and American colleges and universities. This review can give only a poor idea of the greatly diversified content and the many merits of a highly commendable work.

ASSAR JANZÉN

University of California, Berkeley

Modern Swedish Poetry. In the Original Swedish with English Translations. Martin S. Allwood, General Editor. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, 1948. Pp. 80.

According to an announcement made by the editors of this booklet, it is intended to be a selection of poems from a larger work which is in process of preparation and which will bear the title *A Twentieth Century Nordic Anthology*. The purpose of this publication is, presumably, to arouse interest in the larger collection and to make it attractive for English-speaking people and to awaken a general interest in the treasures of Swedish poetry. In spite of the fact that the translations are excellent, the editors may not achieve the results they probably had in mind. With some notable exceptions the selection appears to be strangely one-sided, a fact which renders it both inadequate and misleading. The title itself is too comprehensive. Modern Swedish Poetry reaches much farther back in time than the period to which the included poems belong. Even if the title *Twentieth Century Swedish Poetry* had been used, there would still have been many regrettable and inexplicable omissions. Several of the great poets of the preceding generation are still active or have been active since the beginning of this century; but both these and not a few of the prominent poets of the present generation are conspicuous by their absence.

It would be interesting to know what has motivated the selection. Is it the slavery of *free verse*, or a belated fondness for the proletarian tinge, which the proletarians least of all care about, or perhaps the difficulty of satisfactorily translating rhymed verse? I cannot be entirely impartial in my judgment, for I am old-fashioned enough to love great poetry in which strength and grace and beauty are united, poetry in which words, rhythm, rhyme, and all the other forms of great poetical workmanship unite to produce an atmosphere of ineffable, intangible beauty, which as a strain of music seems to hold life itself distilled and quivering in an all-embracing synthesis. And I seem to be in rather goodly company. Chesterton, among many others, has dared to admit that he does not enjoy metrical formlessness and that he loves a melodious, significant, and suggestive rhyme. And why revolt against rhyme and technical poetic skill? Rhyme

enables poetry to accomplish that which ought to be one of the chief purposes of all great poetry: to sharpen our vision to a vivid luminous image. Most of us like beauty in poetry and art in general. We are disagreeably affected by the frightfulness of modern art, especially in painting and sculpture. Why should an exhibition of modern painting look like a gallery of horrors? We ordinary people do not like this. Chesterton says that ordinary, normal people like rich carvings and melodious and often ingenious rhymes. The learned, on the other hand, like bare walls and blank verse. I wonder if we in this do not see an evidence of the old saying *Vox populi, vox Dei*. Art and poetry should give genuine pleasure to the many and not theoretical enjoyment to a few.

Blank verse and free verse are, of course, not to be condemned: they may often be beautiful, fitting, and enriching—many of the poems in the selection bear testimony to this. What is especially objectionable in poetry is unnecessary formlessness and vulgarity. It is vulgar in literature to make a show of feelings that one does not possess naturally but thinks that one ought to have because it happens to be the fashion; it is also vulgar to express one's feelings with such an exaggeration that they make the impression of being only assumed. There are not a few instances of such vulgarity in the selection.

Objectionable are also the evidences of an immature realism, the kind of realism that Levertin and Heidenstam, after they had attained literary maturity, called *skomakarerealism* ('cobbler's realism'), which consists in making a complete inventory of things that often do not matter, without the least attempt at synthesis. Of this there are evidences in some of the poems included in the selection.

In a poem entitled "Trappan" ("The Staircase")—it is to be sure a proletarian staircase—we read:

Ingen marmor, ingen stuck, inga konstnärliga dekorationer,
inga rosor, bladslingor, exotiska fåglar:
men mjölkstank, spottblaskor, hopknycklade spårvagnskvitton,
skrangliga ledstänger, nerklotttrade väggar;
ingen parfym, ingen ljuv doft från eleganta damunderkläder:
men odörer från lägenheter, kök, klosetter . . .

No marble, no stucco, no artistic embellishments,
No roses, no leafy wreaths, no exotic birds:
But milkstains, spittings, streetcar transfers crumpled up,
shaky bannisters, scribbled walls;
No perfume, no sweet scent from elegant ladies' lingerie:
But odors from apartments, kitchens, toilets . . .

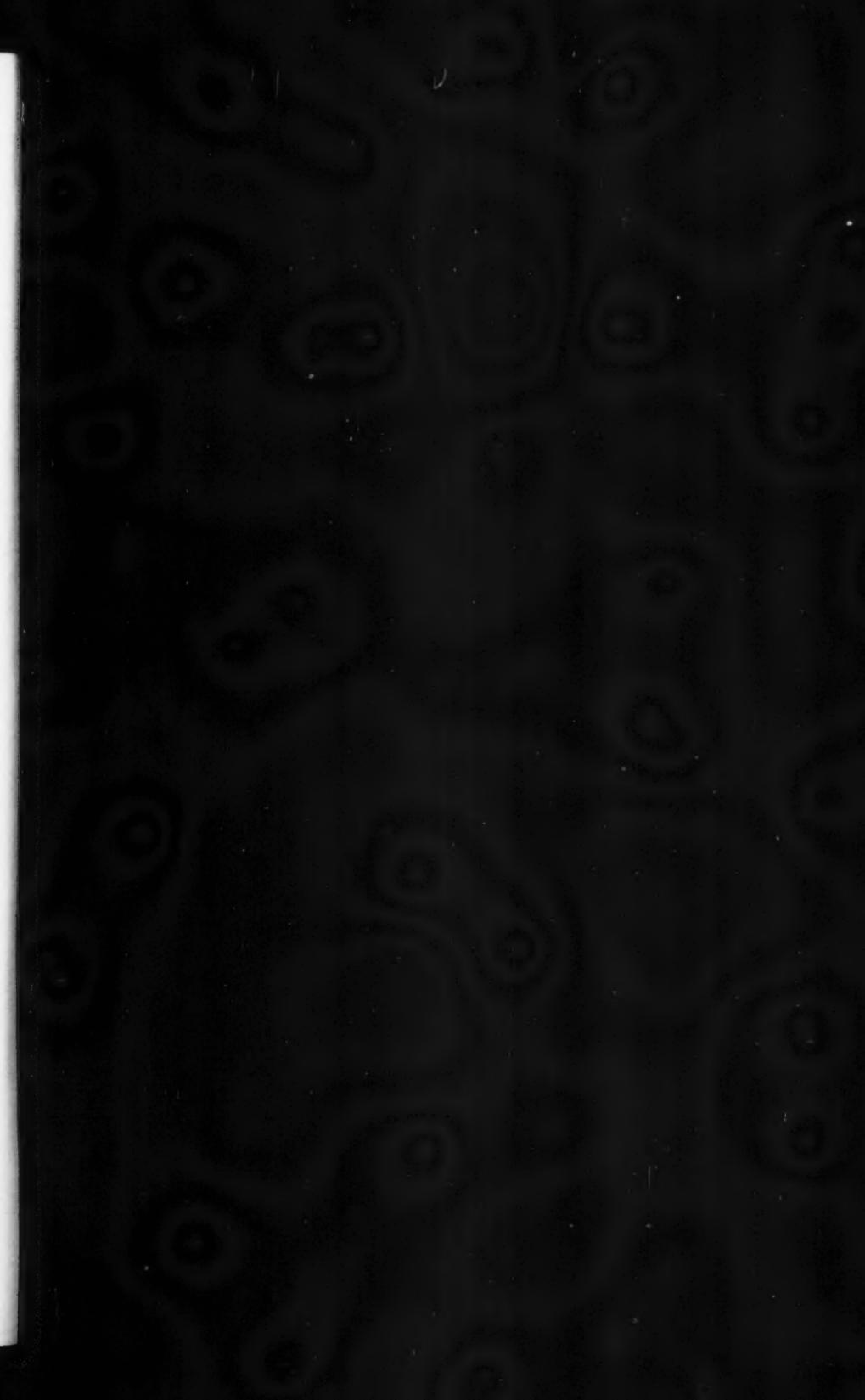
This is vulgar because it is exaggerated: the exaggeration makes it appear assumed. The amassment of details does not make it a poetical synthesis, rather a prosaic enumeration. This so-called poem shows us how a commendable striving for freer forms, if unguided by a refined and fastidious sense of values, may lead to formlessness. The English translation seems to have somewhat softened the crudeness of the original. Swedish is unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, too factual a language to serve successfully as a medium for this kind of poetry.

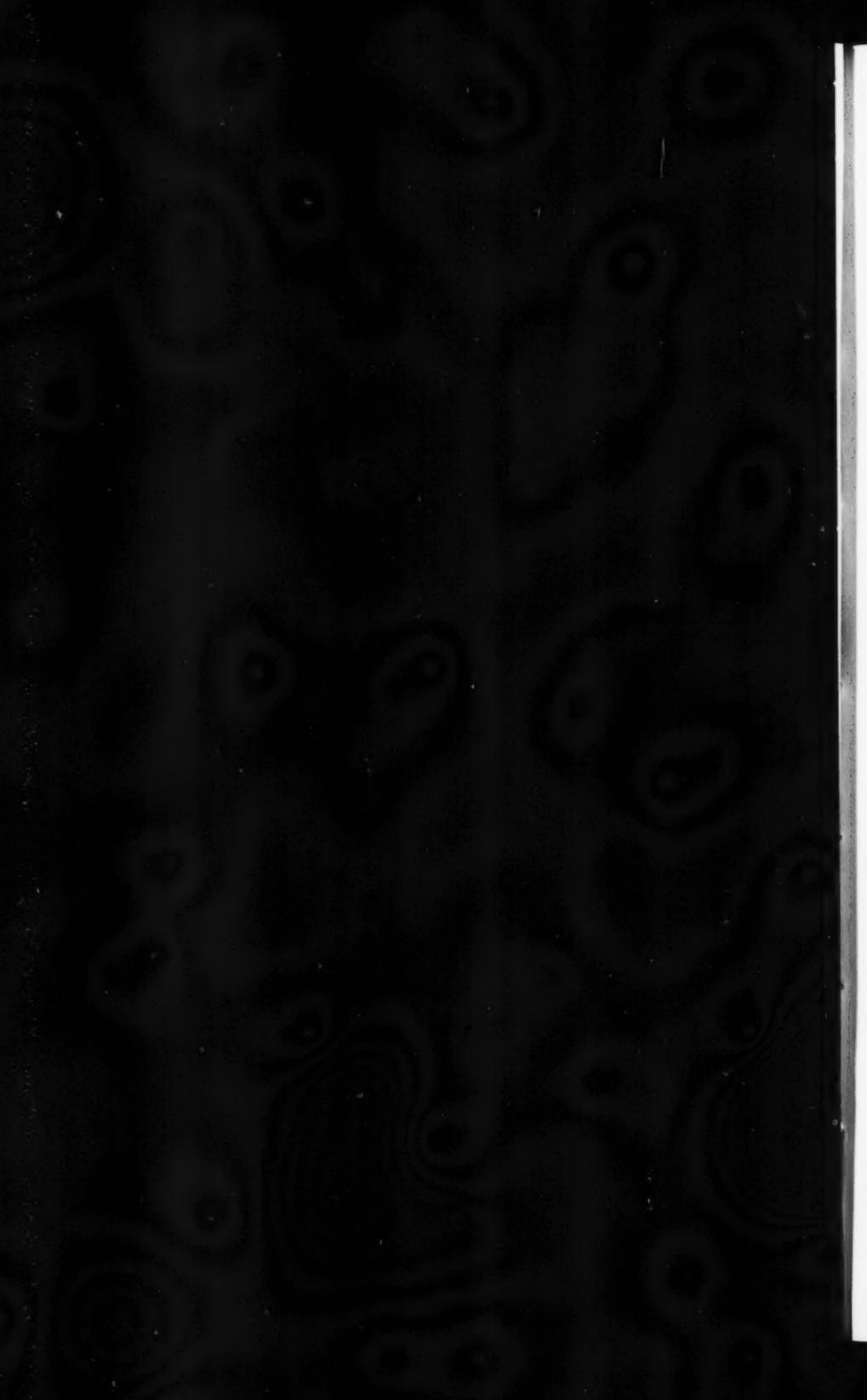
But there are many fine poems in the selection, and the translations are, as a rule, excellent. It would be well, however, if the editors would make the larger selection which they are planning more representative of twentieth-century Swedish poetry. In making their choice they might bear in mind that one of the greatest missions of poetry is to give pleasure to the many and to ease the burdens of others. What greater praise can be accorded poetry than that given a generation ago at a Fröding festival:

Den [Frödings poesi] har gnolats i lövsalar, den har viskats på båtbryggor i
månsken, den har segerrikt sjungit sig in hos äldre och yngre—i ett helt folks
hängivenhet. Den har realisrat en annan stor diktares ord:

O, den som kunde skänka dikten så
den enkla form, som tusenden förstå.

EDWIN J. VICKNER
University of Washington





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